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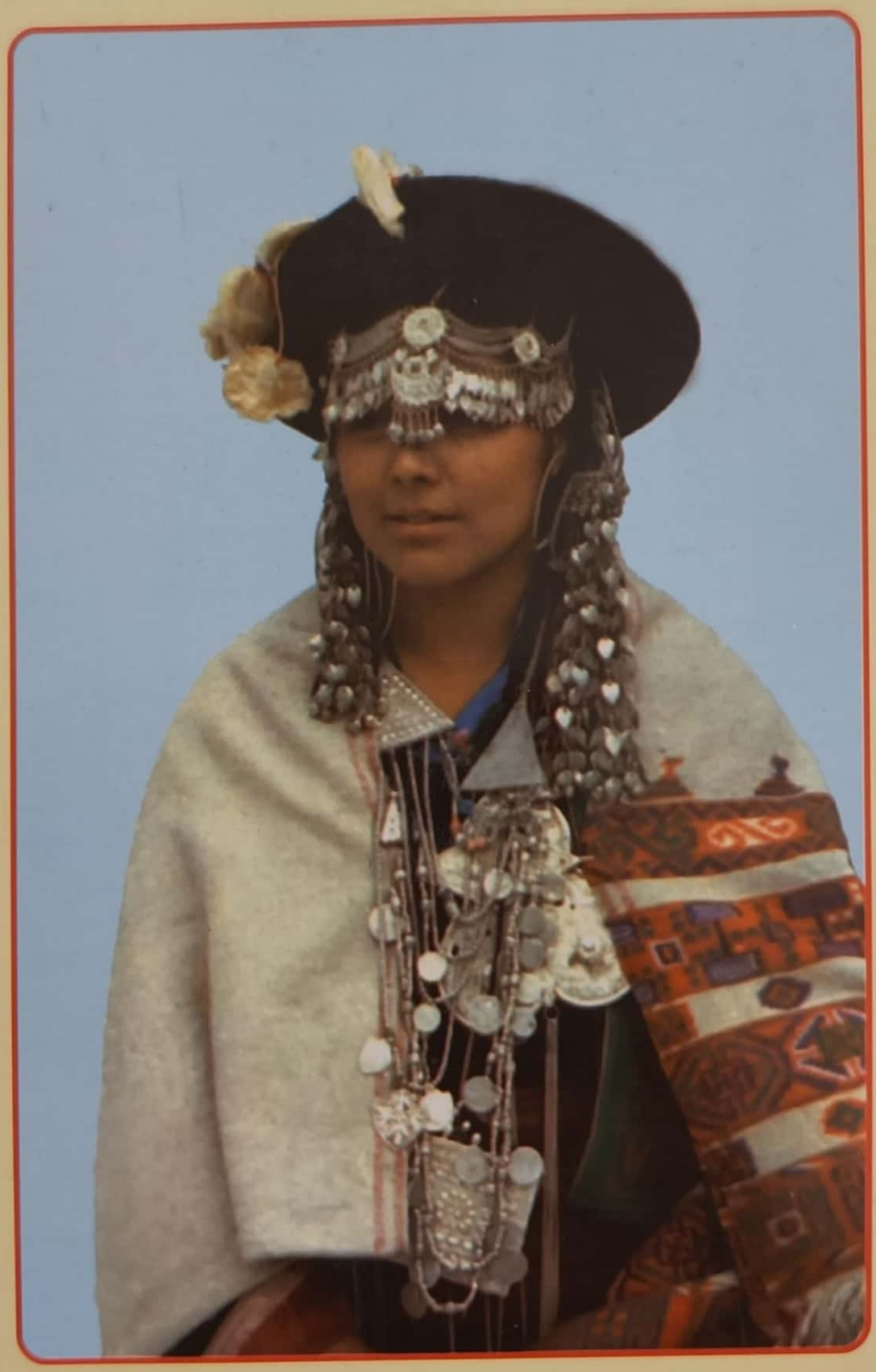

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Jainism in Kangra

Ashvini Agrawal *†

Jainism, one of the oldest religions of India, has its origin and early history shrouded in obscurity. Tradition talks of twenty-four Jain Tīrthaṅkaras who preached at different times, the first being Ādinatha or Ṛishabhanātha. Some scholars trace the mention of his name in the Ṛigveda. Likewise the twenty-second Tīrthaṅkara, Neminātha, is said to be a contemporary of Krishna Vāsudeva and belonged to the same family i.e. Yādava. However, it is only the last two Tīrthaṅkara, Pārśva and Mahāvīra, whose historicity stands on firm ground. Mahāvīra was a senior contemporary of the Buddha and lived in the 6th century B.C. Pārśva is said to have flourished 250 years before Mahāvīra.

The activities of both these Tīrthaṅkara were confined to eastern India i.e. Bihar, West Bengal and eastern U.P. and it was not up to the beginning of the Maurya period that Jainism spread up to the sea coast and in the South in the time of Bhadrabāhu who was a contemporary of Chandragupta Maurya. By the beginning of the Christian era, Mathura and Ujjain had become popular centers of this faith and the early centuries of this era saw its further spread towards the West. In the post-Harsha period Rajasthan, Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh becomes the centre of Jain activity and probably it was from here that the religion spread towards the Punjab and Himachal Pradesh[1]. Though the Greek accounts of the writers like Onesicritus have been interpreted by several scholars as indicative of Jain monks' presence in Punjab at the time of Alexander's invasion. Jainism could not gain a foot-hold in this region till a very late date. At least there is on literary or archaeological evidence to substantiate the prevalence of Jainism in Punjab prior to 9th-10th century A.D.

The case of Himachal Pradesh, which at that time formed a part of the Punjab Hills, was no different. The present day Kangra District and the region surrounding it formed a part of ancient Trigarta, with its history going back to hoary past. Even if we do not take tradition into account, numismatic, epigraphic and archaeological evidence indicates the prevalence of Brahmanism and Buddhism in Kangra before the beginning of the Christian era but not of Jainism.

However, a welcome change takes place from the 9th century onwards when the evidence of the presence of Jainism in Kangra start coming our way in the form of sculptures,

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† Paper was presented in the Seminar Organised by Department of Language and Culture at Shimla

inscription, account of travels of Jain monks and references to the construction of Jain temples. Historically it can be called the beginning of Jainism in this land. A brief survey of the antiquities in the form of sculptures and inscriptions from Kangra shall help us to draw an accurate picture of Jainism in this land.

SCULPTURES

Several Jain images, mostly broken, have come to light from time to time from the old town of Kangra (called Kangra Bazaar by earlier writers), the Kangra Fort and Baijnath (ancient Kiragrama). Generally the first and the last Tīrthaṅkaras, Ādinātha and Mahāvīra, are represented in these sculptures, though definite identification in many cases is not possible.

1. Image of a Tīrthaṅkara seated seated in *padmāsana* in *dhyānamudrā* with a lotus halo behind the head (Fig.1). There is a three tiered parasol above his head. The figure is flanked by two *chaurī*-bearing attendants, a male on the proper right and a female on the left of the image. The head-dress of the attendants is note worthy for its typical *pahārī* style prevalent in the art of this region. Two *vidyādharas* are depicted on the top corners, holding garlands which look like flowers with long stalks. The pedestal is in the form of *simhāsana* with two lions facing outward. An interesting feature of the pedestal is depiction of a seated figure in *dhyānamudrā* in the centre which is unusual in Jain icons. Traces of an inscription at the bottom can be seen. The image may be dated in the 11th-12th century A.D.

2. Fixed in a wall of the Vaidyanath temple at Baijnath, an image of a seated Tīrthaṅkara in *padmāsana* . Curly hair with a top-knot and elongated ear-lobes and *śrī-vatsa* mark on chest are depicted. The closed eyes in the posture of meditation are impressive. There is a lotus halo behind the head of the image and a parasol above. Attendant figure on both sides with fly-whisks are quite worn out, so is its pedestal. Two lions, facing are shown in front of the pedestal. An interesting feature is the depiction of an elephant, standing to front, on the right side of the pedestal. The image may be identified as that of Mahāvīra and dated in the 10th-11th century A.D.

3. A headless image in *padmāsana* in *dhyānamudrā* with *śrī-vastsa* mark on chest. Two attendants, a male and a female on the right and left of the image respectively hold fly-whisk in their hands towards the image. The right hand of the male is hanging down whereas the left hand of the female is *kaṭiavalambita*. A flourish of *dhotī* in the

front betrays Śvetambara character of the image. The seat has floral designs in the front and is placed on a lion-throne with two lions. It may be dated in the 11th-12th century A.D.

4. The lower portion of a Tīrthaṅkara image in *padmāsana*, seated on a double petalled lotus throne (Fig.2) placed on a pedestal with two lions (*siṁhāsana*). A male attendant on the right and a female attendant on the left of the image, both standing cross-legged in a graceful manner holding fly-whisks. Two elephants are carved on both sides of the image just above the attendants. The flourish of *dhotī* in front of the image vouch for its Śvetāmbara character. An interesting feature of the sculpture is depiction of a figure in *vīrāsana* in the centre of the pedestal. It may be dated in the 11th-12th century A.D.

5. Another head-less image of Mahāvīra (?) seated in *dhyānamudrā* and flanked by two male attendants, on a lion pedestal was recovered from near the temple of Sidhanāth at Baijnath. Presently it is in the collection of Delhi University's Department of History[2]. It may be dated in the 11th-12th century A.D.

6. A Jain pillar from Baijnath with two panels and *pūrṇaghaṭa* motif on the top. The central panel depicts Ambikā Devī seated in *lalitāsana* on a recouchant lion facing to proper right. She has a child on her left lap and a bunch of mangoes is depicted above. In her right hands she has a noose and a goad. In the Jain canon she is considered a *yakshī* of Neminātha, the 22nd Tīrthaṅkara. The lower panel shows a Jina seated in *dhyānamudrā* on a lotus throne. He has *śrī-vatsa* mark on his chest, long hair falling on shoulders and *ushnīsha*.

All these images must have formed a part of some Jain temple or temples at Baijnath, which have since disappeared without leaving any trace of their existence at present, except for a single epigraphic reference which we shall discuss below.

INSCRIBED IMAGES/PEDESTALS

1. An inscribed image of Ṛishabhanātha from Indreśvara temple, presently placed along a wall of the porch of Śiva temple, in the old Kangra town. It was first noticed by Alexander Cunningham[3] in his reports and there after George Buhler[3] edited the inscription on its pedestal. J. Ph. Vogel discussed its date and location in the ASIAR for 1905-06[4]. The image depicts Ṛishabhanātha seated in *dhyānamudrā*, with hair falling on his shoulders and *śrī-vastsa* mark on his chest. There is a lotus halo behind his head which was perhaps mistaken for a serpent hood by Bühler and Vogel, who

identified the image as that of Pārśvanātha though Cunningham had rightly identified it as that of Ādinatha. However, the hair falling on shoulders of the image and depiction of a retouching bull on the pedestal, the *lāñchchhana* of Ṛishabhanātha, leave on place for any doubt about its identification. A parasol with an *āmalaka* top is depicted above and an inscription of eight lines on the pedestal below. On both sides of the inscribed central face are two lions indicative of si'mhāsana. On the bottom left is a female figure which may be identified as that of Chakreśvari, the *yakshī* of Ādinātha. The right side corners at the bottom and the top are broken. Two *chaurī*-bearing attendants are shown on both sides of Ādinātha and an elaborate *chaturviṁśati-paṭta* depicting the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras forms the background of the image[5]. The most interesting feature of the image is a round cup with floral motifs on the head of Ādinatha. It is an exact representation of the cap commonly worn in Himachal Pradesh. The Jain Tīrthaṅkaras are always depicted without any head-dress; hence the present instance shows the strong influence of Himachal culture on Jain iconography and attests the fact that there was a local school of art flourishing at Kangra in ancient times[6]. This is also evident from the head-dressed of the attendants depicted in Jain sculptures from this area including the one under discussion. It is very peculiar angular-cut tiara, which is found on several sculptures form Himachal Pradesh. 3.

The eight-line inscription on the pedestal of this image refers to its installation, apparently by two brothers Bhulaṇḍaka and Kumara who were sons of Gachchha (a Śvetāmbara Jain school), in the year 30 of an unspecified era. Cunningham suggested "A.D. 954 or 1054" on the basis of its paleography[7]. Bühler assigned it to Laukika or Saptarishi era and suggested A.D. 854. He observed that the script of the inscription resembles that of the Baijnath temple inscriptions which were in A.D. 804, therefore A.D.854 should be its correct date[8]. It was J. Ph. Vogel who pointed out that since the dates of the Baijnath *Praśastis* were revised to A.D. 1240, the present inscription should also be dated in A.D. 1154 or 1254[9]. He appears to be correct in his observation, as stylistically also the image appears to be a late one and should be assigned to about 12th century A.D. Here it may be pointed out that Abhayachandra taken as a king of Kangra by Cunningham was a Jain teacher of Śvetāmbara sect of Gujarat and Indrachandra or Induchandra after whom the temple of Indreśvara may have been named has nothing to do with this image. 4.

Mention may also be made of another Jain image of a female deity, which has another female figure, engraved on its pedestal and an elephant on the right and has been

placed in the same temple alongside the above mentioned image. Both Cunningham and Vogel have mentioned it in their accounts.

2. In a late structure adjacent to the Ambikā Devī temple inside the Kangra Fort, near Darshani Darwaza, is enshrined an inscribed image of Ādinātha. An inscription of four lines, which is partly obliterated, is engraved on its pedestal on both sides of a bull figure, the cognizance of Ādinātha. Cunningham who first noted the image in his Reports read the date on it as *Samvat* 1523=A.D. 1466[10], which falls in the reign of Saṁsāra Chandra I. V.C. Ohri has assigned the image to late 13th century without referring to the inscription or its reading[11]. In spite of our two visits to Kangra Fort we could not examine the inscription properly as the image is under worship at present by Śvetāmbara Jains and is smeared with sandal-wood paste. However, stylistically as well as palaeographically Cunningham does not seem to be far from the truth. Cunningham has referred to another inscription in the same premises which he noted in 1846 but could not trace during his subsequent visit. According to him it opened with an invocation, "Aum svasti Sri Jinayanamah" and was dated both in Vikrama 1566 and Śaka 1413 corresponding to A.D. 1509[12]. There is no other reference or trace of this inscription.

3. During our field work tour of Kangra in 1995 we noticed another pedestal of a Jain image in the Kangra Fort[13]. It bears an inscription of nine lines written in Jain Nāgarī of 12th century A.D. and is dated Sunday, the 3rd day of the bright fortnight of the month of Phālguna in the Śaka year 1110 i.e. A.D. 1188. The inscription begins with the invocation of Jain (The Conqueror, Mahāvīra ?) and refers to a Jinaratna Sūri of Rājakula[14] and his pupil. Then there is reference to one Sulakshaṇa, son of Vallana, who got the image installed. On both sides of the inscription are engraved two lions and there is a seated *yaksha* figure on the right and a *yakshī* on the left of the pedestal. The image has completely disappeared.

4. A beautifully carved pedestal of a Jain image was found at Baijnath in the premises of Vaidyanath temple[15] and is preserved in the site Museum of the Archaeological Survey at Baijnath. (Fig.3). It bears an inscription of two lines in Jain Nāgarī letters of the 13th century engraved on the three faces of the pedestal in six sections. The inscription reefers to the installation of an image of Mahāvīra by two brothers Dolhaṇa and Ālhaṇa, sons of Mānū, in a temple of Mahāvīra constructed by them, on Sunday, the 5th day of the dark fortnight of Phālguna in Samvat 1296 i.e. A.D.1240.

The image was consecrated by Suūri Devabhadra a pupil of Sūri Abhayadeva Rydraoalliya in line Sūri Jinavallabha. Bühler, who edited this inscription[16], pointed out that the donors Dolhaṇa and Ālhaṇa belonged to Gujarat as their *gotra* Brahmakshatra indicates. The Jain monk Devabhadra also belonged to Gujarat to which Kharatara Gachchha, a Śvetāmbara sect is related.

The pedestal has four lions, two on each side of its two faces and a female figure, seated in *lalitāsana* in the centre. A *chakra* is engraved below her feet. *Yaksha* Mātanga and *yakshī* Sidhāyikā, both seated in *lalitāsana*, are depicted on the right and left of the pedestal respectively.

5. A fragment of Jain image with an inscription of eight lines on its pedestal has been published by V.C. Ohri[17] . It is preserved in the Kangra Museum at Dharmashala and is said to have been discovered near Kangra. Ohri has very pertinently pointed out that the stiffness in its modeling indicated a decline in art and a late date. This observation is substantiated by the palaeography of the record which is very crude and late.

Before we close our survey, it is a must to have a glance at the literary sources of Jainism in Kangra. Though on historical work of any importance refers to Jainism in this region, the accounts of Jain travelers visiting Kangra on religious missions throw some light on the subject. Most of the accounts belong from 14th to 18th century A.D. and are in the form of *vinitis*, *vijñaptis*, *chaityaparipāṭis*, *paṭṭāvalis*, etc[18]. The scope of this paper does not allow us to go into the details of these accounts which were written with religious zeal and are expected to be exaggerated beyond limits. They require critical editing and evaluation by some serious scholar of history. Notable amongst these are *Śrī Nagarakoṭa Tīrtha Viniti* of V.S.1400, *Nagarakoṭa Viniti* by Abhaya Chandra Gaṇi, *Viniti* by Naya Chandra Sūri ,V.S. 1422-40, *Vijñapati Trivenī* by Jaya Sāgara Upādhāya, V.S. 1484 , *Nagarakoṭa Viniti*, V.S.1488, *Nagarakoṭa Chaitya Paripāti* by Jaya Sāgara Upādhaya , V.S. 1497, *Nagarakoṭa Ādiśvara Stotra* by Kanaka Soma,V.S. 1634 and *Nagarakoṭiā Gachchha* by Jina Vijaya, V.S. 1831[19]. It is evident from these accounts that Kangra attracted Jain pilgrims only after 14th century A.D

A reasonably clear picture Jainism in Kangra emerges from the foregoing survey. The art and epigraphic evidence indicates that this religion was introduced in Kangra region sometime around 9th-10th century A.D. probably due to some Jain followers' visit to this valley in the foot hills of Dhauldhar range of mountains[20]. The earliest Jain icons from Kangra cannot be dated prior to 9th -10th century nor is there any epigraphic evidence of ar

earlier date. The earliest inscription from Indreśvara temple, Kangra is dated in the middle of the 12th century (A.D. 1154) (A.D 854 according to Bühler) and the introduction of the faith in the region cannot be pushed much earlier than this time. It gained a foothold in the region in the centuries that followed and became a flourishing sect. Jainism had its influence in many spheres, specially on the plastic art of Kangra as it mingled into the local art tradition in the true spirit of give and take. The pahārī influence of the local school of art at Kangra can be gleaned in the headdress of the attendants in Jain icons, who are shown wearing an angular tiara after the fashion prevalent in sculpture of Himachal Pradesh. This fact is best illustrated in the Ādināth image from Old Kangra who is shown wearing a round cap of pahārī style in contravention to the Jain iconography, where all Tīrthaṅkaras are depicted without any headdress. The pedestals of these images also show a departure from the iconographic injunctions of Jainism probably due to local influence. The figures depicted in the centre of pedestals, though known in Brahminacal icons, are not be found elsewhere on Jain icons. These and some other features betray the local influence and the liberty that artists of Kangra took in modeling these sculptures. On the other hand the sculptures of Buddhist and Brahmanical icons were also influenced by Jain iconography and freely borrowed from it in their works. For instance an image of the Buddha [Fig.4] from Baijnath depicts a seated figure in *padmāsana* with elongated ear-lobes, curly hair with a topknot, in *bhūmisparśa mudrā*. As a mark of Jain influence the symbol of śrī*vatsa* is shown on the chest of this image.

The epigraphic evidence strongly indicates the introduction of Jainism in Kangra through migrants from Gujarat. Bühler has pointed out that Dolhaṇa and Alhaṇa of the Jain inscription dated Samvat 1296 belonged to Gujarat as is evident from their gotra which was Brahmaskshatra. The same may be said of others like Bhulaṇḍaka and Kumara of the Indreśvara temple inscription and Salakshaṇa son of Vallaṇa of the Kangra Fort inscription. Such names were popular in western India, though any positive evidence on the point is lacking. Bühler[21] said that they belonged to merchant class and it is quite probable that they came for the purpose of trade and settled down in Kangra.

Even the Jain teachers mentioned in these inscription belonged to a Śvetāmbara Jain School of Gujarat. Rājakula Gachchha to which Sūri Devabhadra pupil of Abhayadeva Rudrapalliya in the line of Sūri Jina Vallabha belonged to Anhilwad Pattan in Gujarat[22]. In the Kharatara Gachchha Patāvalī Jina Vllabha is listed as 43rd Yugapradhana. He died in V.S.1167 after founding a new Śvetāmbara School. A Rājakula is mentioned with the name of Jinaratna Sūri of the Kangra Fort pedestal inscription. Abhayachandra of the Indreśvara

temple inscription appears to be the same person as Abhayadeva of the Baijnath inscription of Samvat 1296. Thus it seems that all the Jain teachers mentioned in the Kangra inscriptions belonged to the same school of Sūri Jina Vallabha, and probably had migrated from Gujarat preach in this region.

No Jain temple has come to light in the Kangra District so far, but their existence is vouched for by an epigraphical reference to the construction of a temple of Mahāvira at Baijnath (Kīragrama) in A.D. 1240 by two brothers. How and when these temples and Jainism disappeared from Kangra cannot be said with certainty. Cunningham has recorded that the Dewans of Delhi kings at Kangra were Digambara Jains[23], but says that there were no Jains at Kangra in the 19th century. It is attested by the Census Report for 1881 also which does not include any Jains at Kangra. It appears that local populace did not adopt Jainism as their religion and this lack of popular following led to its ultimate disappearance from Kangra. This also accounts for the disappearance of Jain temples and bad condition of Jain sculptures.

Notes & References:

1. A hoard of 55 Jain bronze sculptures of the post Gupta period was discovered from Hansi in Haryana in 1982. All the pieces belonged to 7th-10th century A.D. It is being studied by Devendra Handa.
2. Chakrabarti, D.K. & Hasan, S.J., *The Antiquities of Kangra*, New Delhi, 1984, P. 54 & Plate XIX.
3. Cunningham,A.,CASR, V,P.164
4. Buhler,G., EI, I, P.120
5. Vogel, J. Ph., ASI. AR, 1905-06, P.16.
6. We are grateful to our firend Dr. Laxman Singh Thakur, Dept. of History , H.P. University, Shimla for supplying a photograph of the image.
7. The rock-cut temples at Masrur, sculptures in Kangra Fort, in the temples at Baijnath and other places strongly indicate the existence of a flourishing school of Art at Kangra.
8. Op. cit., P.164.
9. Op. cit., P.164.
10. Op. cit., P.16.
11. Op. cit., P.163.
12. Ohri, V.C., *Sculpture of Western Himalayas*, New Delhi, 1991, P.73, Plate 3.42.
13. Op. cit.,PP163-64
14. It was first reported by Dilip K. Chakrabarti without giving any details. At present it is preserved in the store of the Archaeological Survery of India at Kangra and was kindly shown to us by Mr. Charan Dass, Conservation Officer at Kangra Fort.

15. It is interestion to note that the Indreśvara temple inscription also refers to Rājakula Gachchha to which Abhayachandra belonged. Supra.
16. CASR, V, P. 183
17. EI,I,PP.118-19
18. Op.cit,P.73 , Plate 3.43.
19. Cf. Duggar, Hira Lal, *Madhya Asia aur Punjab mein Jain Dharma*, (in Hindi), Delhi, 1979,P.161
20. *Ibid.*,P.153 ff.
21. The possibility of the Muslim invasions of Punjab and N.W .India as a cause of spread of Jainism in hilly terrains of Kangra cannot be ruled out .The Jain monk who were displaced in the plains were forced to seek shelter in comparatively safer areas of Kangra valley.
22. Op. cit., P. 118.
23. *Ibid.*, PP118-19.
24. OP. cit., P. 165.

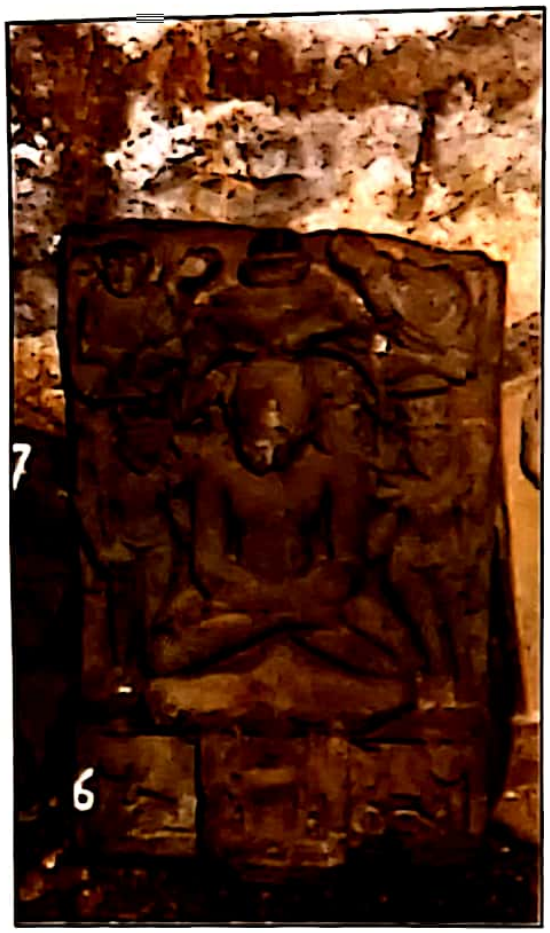

Fig.1.Image of Tirthankara, Kangra

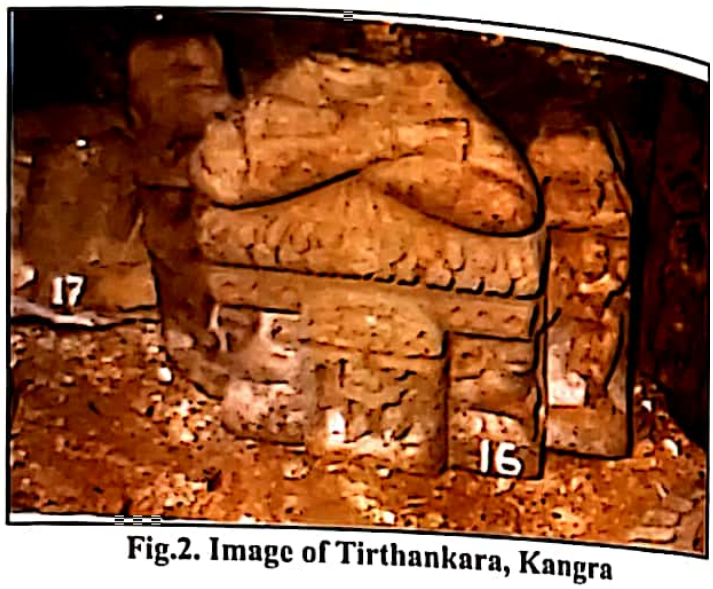

Fig.2. Image of Tirthankara, Kangra

Fig. 3. Pedestal of Jain image, Vaidyanath temple, Baijnath, Himachal

Iconography of Kārtikeya in Himachal

Dr. B. C. Shukla*

Kārtikeya was an important deity in ancient India. The worship of this deity was very much prevalent in India from Himādri to Kanyā Kumarī. Various myths and legends are mentioned in the epics and Puranas about his origin and achievements. These legends and tradition attest the fact that various cultural traditions had contributed to the development of the cult of war-god Skand Kārtikeya.

Kārtikeya is not known to the Vedas, but there are certain references in the Ṛigveda which show that the characteristics and attributes of God Skanda were primarily associated with God Agni. In the Mahābhārata[1] Kārtikeya is represented as a son of Agni born from his wife Svāhā. In the Rāmāyaṇa too[2], he is stated to be a son of Agni from Gaṅgā. Both these traditions are based on the Ṛigvedic concept of Agni. In the Ṛigveda Agni has been called as Kumāra. This Kumāra was nurtured by his mother in a secret place. His mother never allowed father to see his son. Kumāra always changes his form in autumn seasons like foetus[3].

कुमारं माता युवतिः समुब्धं गुहा विभर्ति न ददाति पित्रे।
अनीकमस्य न मिनज्जनासः पुनः पश्यन्ति निहितमरतौ।।
कमेतं त्वं युवते कुमारं एषी विभर्षि महिषी जजान।
पूर्वीह गर्भ : शरदो ववर्धा पश्यं जातं यदसूतमाता।

The epithet of Kārtikeya as 'Guha' and his name as Kumāra are noteworthy in this regard. Agni was born in a secret place like wise Skanda or Kārtikeya was also born in a secret place, Mahābhārata[4] tells that the foetus of Skanda was developed in a golden well and nursed by the six Krittikās. In the Puranas[5] it is stated that the seed of God Siva was cast into the mouth of Agni which threw it into the womb of Gangā. Later on, it was transferred into the six Krittikās and nursed , in a thicked of reeds i.e. *Śaravana*. This *Śaravana* was a secret place. From these stories it is clear that the myth about the origin of Kumāra Kārtikeya was basically related with the origin of Agni. *Senāpati* was another epithet of Kārtikeya. It is important to note that this epithet has been applied to Agni in Ṛigveda[6].

वरेये अग्निमातयो तदते वल्वत्रये। अन्ति पद्भूत्वामवः

Agni was the destroyer of enemies and he was Sahasrajit, i.e. conqueror of thousands of people.[7]

* Paper was presented in the Seminar Organised by Department of Language and Culture at Shimla

In the Ṛigveda[8] many mothers of a Agni are mentioned.

आहि द्यावा पृथिवी अग्न उभे सदा पुत्रो मातरा ततन्थ।

Probably seven flames became seven mothers of Agni. Seven mothers of Skanda are also known. Six Krittikas who nursed him and one who gave the birth. Agni was also associated with Rudra[9].

कुमारं पितरं वन्दमानं व्रतिनानां रुद्रोपयन्तम्।
मूरेर्दातारं सत्पतिम् गृणीषे स्तुतस्त्वं भेषजारस्यसमे।।

Rudra was another form of Śiva. Since Agni was associated with Rudra he was associated with Śiva also. Śatpathabrahmana[10] narrates this process in a more detailed and elaborate manner. According to this text[11] 'Lord Prajapati created Kumāra and gave his nine names Ugra, Asani, Bhava, Mahadeva, Śarva, Pashupati, Rudra and Agni. His ninth name was Kumāra. In this way Kumāra transformed in another form from his original form. Then Prajapati adorned him with the title ***Chitraśiśu***[12]**.** It is interesting that in the Ṛigveda[13] Agni has also been called as Chitraśiśu.

स जातो गर्भो असि रोदस्योरग्ने चारुर्विभृत ओषधीषु।
चित्रः शिशुः परितमोस्यक्तून प्रमातृभ्यो अधिकनिक्रदद्भाः।।

Naigameṣa was another epithet of Kārtikeya. This epithet was also primarily associated with Agni. In the Śatapathabrahmana[14] it is stated that Lord Prajapati gave a goat to Kumā Agni for performing a sacrifice. The association of goat with the worship of Agni is also referred in Atharvaveda[15], Gopathabrahmana[16] and Tattiriya Samhita[17]. From these references it is not unreasonable to think that the concept and myth of Vedic God Agni were mainly responsible to the origin and development of the cult of Skanda Kārtikeya.

For the first time, various names of Kārtikeya like Ṣaṇmukha, Jayanta, Viśākha, Subrahmaṇya and Mahāsena occur in Baudhāyan Dharmasutra[18]. From Patanjali's Mahābhāsya[19] it is evident that the, cult of Skanda was widely established during this time. He has made express mention of the images of Skanda, and Viśākha made for worship. In the Puranas Skanda and Viśākha have been used as a synonym. But Patanjali has mentioned them as two gods different from each other. R.G. Bhandarkar is of the opinion[20] that primarily both were independent gods, later on they were treated as one god i.e Skanda. The name Skanda is associated with the story of Śiva as Skanda was born from the discharge (स्कन्द) seed of Śiva where as Viśakha is associated with Agni. In the Māhabhārata we find a reference where it is said that Viśākha was born form left shoulder of Skanda when he was struck with thunderbolt by Indra. The original idea that Skanda and Viśākha were two separate gods, was not completely diminished. In Amarakośa[21] various synonyms of Kārtikeya are mentioned-

कार्तिकेयो महासेनः शरजन्मा षडाननः।
पार्वतीनन्दनः स्कन्दः सेनानीर्विनर्गुहः।।
बाहुलेयस्तारकजिद्विशाखः शिखिवाहनः।
षण्मातुरः शक्तिधरः कुमारः क्रौंचदरः।।

Various myths are found about Kārtikeya in the Mahābhārata and Ramayana. In the Mahābhārata he is described as Agniputra born from his wife Svāvā and in the Rāmāyana, he is known as a son of Agni born from Gangā. In the Mahabharata[22] Agni and Svāhā have been described as another form of Śiva and Pārvati. Kālidāsa has narrated in detailed manner, the birth of Kumāra- Kārtikeya in his famous epic Kumārasaṁbhava. This description of Kālidāsa became so popular that it established Kumāra as a son of Śiva- Pārvati and diminished the association of Kumār with Agni. The narrations of the Varāha, Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Matsya and Brahma-Purana etc. are mainly based on the description of Kālidāsa.

The Iconographic features of Kārtikeya are described in may ancient texts. According to the Bṛihatsamhita[23], Kārtikeya should be shown as being youthful in appearance, having a spear in his hand. His vehicle peacock should be depicted near his left foot. The number of his arms are not mentioned in the text. The Viṣhṇudharmottara[24] Purana describes a six faced figure under the name of Kumāra decorated with Sikhandaka type of coiffure, dressed in red garment, riding on his mount peacock holding a cock and bell in his right hands and a victory flag and a spear in his left hands respectively. According to the Samarāṅgaṇasutradhāra[25] Kārtikeya can have either six heads or only one head. He is to be shown with his Śakti or spear. The number of arms varies according to the places. In a town, ..e should be adorned with twelve armed figure, in the Khẹtaka with six arms and in a village vith two arms. In the twelve armed figure, his five right hands are to carry Śakti, arrow, sword. Musrinthi and hammer while sixth is to be shown in spreading. In the five left hand bow, victory flag, bell, khẹtaka and cock are to be shown and sixth one should be displayed in *Śaṁvardhan* pose. In the Matsya[26] Purana also it is prescribed that twelve armed Kārtikeya in a town, four armed in *Karbąta* and two armed in a forest or village should be made for worship. According to the Aparājitapṛcchā[27] six headed and twelve armed Kārtikeya should ne shown carrying arrow, spear, sword, goat staff and rosary in his left hands and *Srnga*, Bow *Ṛsa, Khẹtaka*, water pot and *Varad mudrā* in his right hands. He should be shown having three eyes.

Subrahamaṇya is another form of Kārtikeya which is the most popular deity in South India. In every village the shrines of subrahamaṇya are found. In the Āgama treatises of South India various names of Subrahamaṇya like Śaktidhara Skand, Senapati, Gajavahana,

Brahmaśāstā, Valli-Kalyāṃasundara, Bālswāmī, Kraunchbhettā etc. are mentioned and the iconographic characteristics of each from are described in a detailed manner[28]. But these forms are not so popular in north India as we do not find the description of these forms in north Indian texts.

The area of Himāchal , bounded by Jammu and Kāśmira in north, Punjab in west and South-west, Harayāṇā in South , Uttara Khand and Tibbet in east has been a craddle of many cultures since remote past. Śavism was prevalent in Himachal in the preceding centuries of Christian era. Various symbols related with Śavism likd Nandipada, axe, bull and trident are found on the coins of Audumbaras, Kunindas and Yaudhayas[29]. The names like Rudradāsa Śivadāsa etc. written on the coins of Audumbaras also suggest their association with Śaivism. The legend *Bhāgavata Mahādevasa* on these coins[30] is very important. The word Bhāgavata has been generally associated with the worshippers of God Viṣṇu. Patanjali[31] has also mentioned a sect known as ŚivaBhāgavatas. Probably Audumbaras were Śiva-Bhāgavatas. The depiction of temple on the coins[32] also indicates that there were śaiva temples in existence during the time of Audumbaras. Kunindas were the inhabitants of Kinnaur, Śimalā and Sirmaur regions of Himachal[33]. The symbols like Nandipada, Serpent[34] and the legend *Bhāgavata Chhatreśvara Mahātmanah*[35] clearly prove their association with Śaiva religion. Śiva in a standing posture, having trident and axe in his hands is depicted on the coins of the Yaudheyas. Nandi in a bull form is also found on these coins[36]. Yaudheyas were living in the areas of Harayāna and Punjab, but later on the subjugated the area of Kāngarā and Chambā after the downfall of the Kuśāṇas[37].

Śaivism was widely prevalent in Himāchal during the Gupta and post-Gupta period also. Nirmand, Hatkoti, Balaga, Bājaura, Naggar, Jagatsukha, Kāngāṛa, Mandi Māngarh, Sāho etc. were the main centre's of Śaivism[38]. Associated with Śiva as a son and a principal deity of the Yaudheyas Kārtikeya was also popular in the regions of Himāchal.

The early evidences of Kārtikeya worship in Himachal are noticeable form the coins of the Audumbaras. They were the inhabitants of the Kāngara, Hamirapur area of Himachal. Standing male figure having spear in his right hand on the coins of Audumbaras is identified by Allan as Kārtikeya[39].

The popularity and iconographic features of Kārtikeya are discernible from the coins of the Yaudheyas. On the obverse of the copper coins of the Yaudheyas, Kārtikeya is shown six headed in standing posture, holding spear in right hand and the left arm resting on the hip. Six heads are arranged in two rows. On the reverse, there is a depiction of goddess[40]. Cunningham has described this female deity as six headed. But J.N. Banerjee has rightly pointed out that this deity is not six headed. Her head is adorned with an aureole[41]. The

legend on the copper coins has been reconstructed by Allan[42] as *Bhāgavata Svāmino Brahmaṇya Devasa Kumarasa*. On the silver coins of the Yaudheyas the legend *Yaudheya Bhāgavata Svāmino Brahmaṇyasa*[43] occurs. These legends show that the coins were issued in the name of the deity suggesting thereby that the Yaudheyas had dedicated their state to the God Kārtikeya who was regarded by them not only as their spiritual but also as their temporal ruler. On the other class of the Yaudheya coins of quite a late 3rd-4th C.A.D. Kārtikeya is shown one faced holding a spear in right hand and left hand resting on hip[44]. On these coins Kuṣāṇa influence can easily be seen. The dedication of the state by king to the God of his choice is not limited only to the Yaudheyas. Sir John Marshall has described[45] about a well executed terracotta seal with an inscription of 3rd -4th century A.D. found from Bhita. It is the seal of a ruling chief. The depiction of a river and sun and crescent is noteworthy. The inscription is *Vindhyavedha mahārajasya Māheśvara Mahāsenātiṣrṣta rājyasya Vraṣdhvajasya Gautamīputrasya* i.e. of the illustrious *Mahāraja Gautamiputra Vṛṣadhvaja*, the penetrator of the Vindhyas who had made over his kingdom to the great lord Kārtikeya[46].

On the coins of Huvishka Kārtikeya is represented under various names such as Skanda, Kumara Viśakha and Mahāsena[47]. Mahāsena is shown nimbate, clad in coat holding a standard surmounted by a bird and left hand rests on the hilt of the sword which is tied to his waist girdle. Skand and Viśākha are shown standing face to face dressed like Mahāsena the former holding in his right hand a standard surmounted by a bird while the latter or both of them hold a long spear[48]. Although the coins of the Yaudheyas of late period are influenced by Kushana-coins but the Yaudheyas discarded the foreign elements in the depiction of Kārtikeya. Coat, sword in waist girdle and victory flag surmounted by a bird are absent on the coins of the Yaudheyas.

The cult of Kārtikeya was very much popular in the Gupta and Post Gupta period. Rājaśekhara a famous poet has narrated an event of Gupta period. According to this narration, king Śarmagupta had defeated the khasas. As a result the prowess and fame of the king was being sung by the ladies of Kinnaras in Kartikeyanagar. Which was situated in the foothill of the Himalayas[49]. From a inscription found from Satari in Kullu it appears that Chandragupta got assistance from the hilly states[50]. Kārtikeya nagar has been identified with Alipura[51] near Baijanath in Kangra region. It is worth noting that an inscription of king Lalitśura has been found from Pāṇḍukeśwara, a place in Garhawal region. In this inscription it has been stated that the donation of a village was made from Kārtikeyapura. The inscription is dated in 910 Vikramsamvata[52]. It is not unreasonable to assume that the worship of Kartikeya was widely prevalent in the regions of Himachal and Garhawal.

An image of Kārtikeya found from Chhatrāhī is being worshipped even today[53]. Here Kārtikeya has been shown as short legged which is also noticeable in the post-Gupta images of north and north-west India. Standing Kārtikeya holds spear in right hand and left hand touches the lower garment. The Aureole is plain, devoid of any decoration. Peacock, the vehicle of Kārtikeya is not depicted.

Another image of Kārtikeya has come to light from Masrur[54]. Here Kārtikeya is shown four handed having spear in his upper right hand, Rest hands are broken. The head of the image is badly defaced. The mount peacock is shown sprawling his feathers.

Baijanath temple was very famous in Himachal . This place, 35 Km. east of Kangara is situated on Kangara-Mandi Road. An image of Kārtikeya is placed in the central niche of the north side of the temple[55]. The image is 2'4' in height. This image is important from iconographic point of view. Kārtikeya is six headed. These heads are arranged in two rows. In the first row two heads are depicted on the either sides of central head and above this three heads are shown. Kārtikeya holds a spear in upper left hand and a fruit in lower left hand. The upper right hand has a chakra and lower right, rests on thigh. Kārtikeya is seated in "*Paryankāsan*" pose. The image bears a long ear ornament and necklace. The face has a mild smiling. We do not get any reference of holding fruit and chakra by Kārtikeya in his hands. The depiction of *Chakar* in the upper right hand of Kārtikeya suggests that Śaivism and Vaiṣnavism were not different from each other; rather these sects coexisted in a harmonious way. This is evident from the existence of their temples within the same compound and from the presence of Visnu image in Śiva and Durga temples[56]. This image shows the intermingling of the attributes of Śaiva and Vaiṣnava-gods into each other. Here it would be reasonable to note that on the coins of the Yaudheyas Kārtikeya is described as Bhāgvatu. The depiction of six heads of Kārtikeya is fashioned in the same manner as found on the coins of the Yaudheyas. The impact of such depiction can also be seen elsewhere. A six headed image had been found from Aviantiput, Kāśmira. The image is two armed. It is noteworthy that a distinct form of Kārtikeya known as Kriṣna-Kārtikeya is mentioned in the Aparājitaprchha. Krisna-Kārtikeya has been enumerated as one of the twenty four icons of Visnu. In this form he holds lotus , conch spear and shield in his four arms[57]. Thus the image from Baijnath temple opens a new vista in the iconography of Kārtikeya.

A bronze image of six headed Kārtikeya belonging to 6th-7th century AD has been recovered from Chambā, now housed in National museum, New Delhi. In this image the five heads are arranged encircling the central head. Decorated aureole is also seen. The image is four handed. The main weapon of Kārtikeya i.e. spear is shown in anthropomorphi

from i.e. a lady figure. Peacock has also been depicted in human form[58]. This is the only example where in the Ayudha and *Vāhana* of Kārtikeya are shown in anthropomorphic form.

From the analysis of the Kārtikeya images found from Himachal , it seems that *ṣaḍanana* or six faced and *Ekānana* or one headed, both forms were popular in Himachal. Four handed and two handed images are found but twelve armed images occurs in the Matsyapurāṇa and Aparājitpṛchhā etc. The image of Kārtikeya holding cock and victory flag was also not in vogue in Himachal , although this form was widely accepted in Gandhara art. Some specimens of this form are also noticeable in Mathura art and Labhagat near Kānpura U.P. The coins of the Yaudheyas of 3rd-4th century AD bear Kuṣāna influence. But in the depiction of Kārtikeya they gave up foreign elements like Long boots coat and sword tied in the waist-girdle. The bronze image from Chambā opens a new chapter in the iconography of Kārtikeya and the image placed in Baijnath temple reveals the syncreticism between the gods of different pantheon.

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The rare sculpture of Gaṇeśa in Himachal Pradesh

Hari Chauhan*

Gaṇeśa was originally a Dravidian deity and admitted to the *Brahmanical* pantheon in late-Gupta period. The most popular deity at the present time in Hindu Pantheon has not been mentioned in the Rig-Veda. Moreover, *Gaṇapati* mentioned in the earliest literature refer to *Bṛhaspati*[1] not to Gaṇeśa. He is clearly mentioned first time in *Baudhayana Dharmsutra*[2] with *Rudra* and his consort. In the later-Gupta period he became the most popular gods of the Hindu pantheon occupies the main position among the five principal Hindu gods. He is worshiped before the commencement of every important work considered good for life. He was the deity for creating obstacle in human action and was prayed for removing them. No worships, no rites start without paying homage to him to remove all the obstacles from the path of success. The devotees worship him as '*Vighneśa*' (the lord of obstacles), *Mangaldatā* (he giver of welfare and auspicious things) *Buddhividhatā* (god of wisdom) *Siddhidātā* (the bestow of success). Gaṇeśa became popular throughout India and even certain other region adjoining to the country. Himachal Pradesh too, has, had quite a large share of the idols of the god. Stylistic and iconographic features of some of the unique and rare sculptures are discussed below.

The earliest known sculpture of Gaṇeśa in Himachal dates back to the early seventh century A.D. now in state museum Shimla (Acc. No. 83.148). It was found at village Dohgi, Una district. It retains some features of Gupta sculpture. The sculpture appears quite powerful and somewhat bulky. The party eroded image shows the deity seated in *ardha-paryankāsana*. His association with this sort of asana is because of his potbelly.

A sculpture of great importance was placed in the niche of Shiva temple at Praha near Hatkoti.(fig.1) Four handed deity is seated in *ardha-paryankāsana and ears are large and broad as a rule and each is ornamented with conch shell. Representation of conch shell in the ear is very rare which convey that broad* ears repel all the negativity from the environment and sound of conch-shell purifies the air as per Hindu mythology. He is wearing ornamented conical crown, round bell necklace and *Sarpa-* yajñopavīta. The use of garland of bells is seen in *yaksha* figures of early century. He is broad-shouldered, pot bellied and has small-legs. The deity is as usual with one tusk, *śūrpakarna*, and elephantine face with plane halo at the back. The deity has four hands and proboscis turned to the left. It holds a *paraśu*(battle-axe) in his upper left hand while the lower left hand rests on his thigh

* Himachal State Museum, Shimla-171004 (H.P.)

holding the ambrosia-pot, touched by the proboscis and his upper right-hand held in *tarjani* pose holds a rosary and lower right hand holds a lotus. On the iconographic trait sculpture may be assigned to early 7th century AD.

An almost life size brass image of seated Gaṇeśa of period c.700-750A.D. is under worship at Bharmour, district Chamba.(fig.2.) An inscription on its pedestal depicts that it was the work of Gugga, an architect in the reign of Meru Verman (early 8th century A.D.). Gaṇeśa is seated in European fashion on a pedestal engraved with two heraldic lions (simhāsna). The legs of the deity are damaged according to Herman Goetz that these are damaged in Kira invasion[3] (8th century A.D.). In another adjoining bronze idol of Narsimha the legs of deity are intact and are shown dangling in European fashion. Gaṇeśa is bedecked with jewels that are distinctive of Chamba fashion and the modelling of the body is very similar to Kashmir work. The god is three-eyed and his trunk first turned towards left and then right makes a "U" shape curve. He is holding *akshamālā* in the upper right hand and radish (*mulak*) in the lower right hand. Most of the scholars like V.C. Ohri, M. Postel and Paul Martin-Dudorst[4] etc. identified it as a *savdatna* but in my opinion it is *mulak* (radish) which is frequently met with on Buddhist images of Ganesha in Tibet and Nepal. Here radish is clearly visible as spindle shaped and tapering towards the ends and the ring are visible at the apex on the upper fleshy part from where leave emerges and buds are also visible. While he is holding a *paraśu* in the upper left and a *modak-pātra* (vessel of sweetmeat) in the lower left hand. A gaṇa figure with extended ears appears in front of the pedestal between the two-*vipritmukhi* lions. Which according to Harman Goetz is reminiscent of such figure occurring in Chinese art. The composition of metal used for the sculpture and its casting technique also show the influence of southern Kashmir.

A fragment of other sculpture displayed in the State museum Shimla (Acc. No. S.M.S. 78.10) depicts a pot-bellied Gaṇeśa (*tundila*) seated with one leg bent and other rose in *maharaja-lalitāsana* on a circular cushion placed on a *pancaratha* pedestal. The image is fragmentary and its part of torso and lower part are extant. A *mūṣaka* (rat), the *vāhan* of the deity, is shown seated at the left of the pedestal. Behind the deity, a female devotee with folded hands appears. The snakehead visible on the belly of the image indicates that it served as *sarpa-yajñopavīta*. The modelling is smooth, natural and the proportions are classical. These are typical features of the early Pratihara style. The sculpture belongs to c.8 century A.D.

A stone sculpture of dancing Gaṇeśa at Durga temple Hatkoti is placed in a niche of the platform.[5] The rare sculpture is artistically executed with fine bands, raising his right leg in the air (*bhujang-trasita*) while left leg slightly bent at *bṛhamsathna* in rhythmic pose. He

wears a small a crown, a necklace, a bracelet, a *Sarpa*-yajñopavīta and a loincloth. He is shown, as usual, pot-bellied and has single tusk with proboscis turned to left. According to V.C. Ohri the feeling of heaviness is present in this image because the torso in this figure appears disproportionate. However this is not so, Gaṇeśa being the lord of Gana is often shown with distended belly '*lambodra*' and with stumpy legs (*khara vaktra pad)*. The deity has eight arms holding a snake above his head in the two backhands in whirling posture. The upper right hand holds in *tarjani mudrā* carries and *aksutra* (rosary) and the lower left hand hold *modak-pātra* while the lower most hand is broken. At the lower part, two attendants are engraved on either sides and on the upper portion of the slab two *gandharva* figures are shown in the relief. The figure is full of grace and the artist has rendered all the details to demonstrate in a remarkable manner that such an apparently grotesque iconic type is converted into and elegant piece of sculpture. On stylistic ground, this sculpture may be assigned to c. 10th century A.D. Similar kind of sculpture is also seen in the Surya temple at Nirth, district Shimla.

A stone sculpture of four-armed Gaṇeśa is placed in the niche of the Durga temple.(fig.3) The deity is seated on a double pettaled lotus in the *ardha-paryankasna*. The backhands of the deity are raised up to the shoulder level (*urdhav-bahu*) and hold the *savdatna* a and a lotus of Gandharan type perhaps indicating the lingering influence from the northwest. The representation of which is noticed only in the Pabbar and Beas valley. While a *parśu*(battle-axe) heading downward with its tip placed on the pedestal in the right hand, which is a rare representation otherwise it is usually held in upward direction and the lower left hand of the deity is seen resting on the thigh (*janu-vinyasta*). The modelling is smooth, natural and proportions are classical. The sculpture seems to be of circa 9th century A.D.

A four-armed Gaṇeśa sculpture at Bachhonch is carved with typical Pratihara modelling showing local elements in the form of a lotus and a long receptacle for *modak-pātra* in his hand.[6](fig.4) He is seated on a raised seat in *lalitāsana* wearing ornamented conical crown, bell necklace and *Sarpa*- yajñopavīta. The use of garland of bells is seen in *yaksha* figures of early century . The figure is the ancient prototype of the idols of the Gaṇeśa . He is broad-shouldered, pot-bellied and has small-legs. The deity is as usual with one tusk, *śūrpakarna*, and elephantine face with plane halo at the back. The deity has four hands and proboscis turned to the left and rising up to the shoulders. He holds a *paraśu(*battle-axe) in his upper right hand and his lower right-hand held in *tarjani p*ose holds a rosary. His upper left hand holds a lotus while the lower left hand rests on his thigh, holding the long receptacle of ambrosia-pot, touched by the proboscis. The image corresponds to the description of the *Aparājitaprichachha* and the *Agni-Purāna*. The sculpture may be assigned to early 10th century A.D.

Another stone sculpture from the same place showing a four-armed dancing Gaṇeśa on a *panch-ratha* pedestal. He is raising his right leg in the air and left leg slightly bent in rhythmic pose. The deity holds the conventional emblems in his four hands and is scanty clad as well as bereft of any ornamentation. The image is interesting for it shows also the mount of the deity, a tiny rat held by its tail in the right natural hand. Gaṇeśa is shown with extended ears (*surpakarna*) and his trunk is turned towards the right instead of left towards the sweet ball, which is held in the left hand. Though the image is of medieval period and its details are weathered nevertheless the image is interesting because of the peculiar iconographical details. The sculpture seems to belong to c.12th century A.D.

A rare sculpture of six-armed Gaṇeśa is noticed in Vaidyanath Shiva temple at Baijnath, district Kangra. He is dancing, is right foot slightly raised and left foot resting on the pedestal. This dancing posture is known as *Catūra*. His head headdress is adorned with a triangle at its front and third eye is carved vertically at the centre of the forehead, which is the common feature seen in the sculpture of the Chamba and Kangra region. The deity is wearing his usual garments and holding his attribute in his hands. An outward facing figures of a lion on the right and an elephant on the left are engraved on the pedestal. Three Gandharva beating the drum are carved beneath the seat. The image is seems to be of 14th century A.D.

A stone sculpture of Gaṇeśa in an association with Shakti, is also displayed at the entrance of the State Museum(Acc.no. 74.2110).(fig.5) This sculpture belongs to c.14-15th century A.D. and the Śakti is shown seated on the left side and not at his thigh as usual found. The couple seated on a circular cushion supported by two crouching lions.

Another interesting sculpture of four-armed standing Gaṇeśa(*sthanak*) is under worship in Panchvakra temple at Mandi. The standing posture of Gaṇeśa is very rare in the plastic art of Himachal. He is wearing a long garland passing through his shoulder and reaching down to the legs. He is shown with elongated face and wearing a conical crown. The folds of dhoti appear between the legs, which are commonly seen in the sculptures of the Beas valley. The deity has a curious protruding patch like naval and the trunk is thick, while the treatment of eyes is also fish-like showing mannerism towards the folk type of work. The sculpture is contemporary to the temple, built in A.D. 1520 by the ruler of the Mandi state.

Many examples of the images of Gaṇeśa carved in wood are seen in the wooden temples of the later medieval period of the Satluj, Beas and the tributaries of the Jamuna in H.P. These folkish works are quite interesting and suggestive of the great popularity of the god. Some features commonly noticed in the idols of Gaṇeśa , he is shown almost as a child and therefore his limbs especially the legs are always much smaller than its torso. Since he is shown with an elephantine head, his belly is invariably quite bulky. The soft modelling of the god's body like that of child can be easily noticed in many sculptures.

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2. II, 5,6
3. Herman Goetz, Studies in the History and Art of Kashmir and the Indian Himalaya, p.127
4. Paul Martin-Duborst, Ganeśa, The Enchanter of the Hindu World, p.112 and plate of Ganesha
5. Hari Chauhan, Hatkoti, religious sanctity and cultural heritage, Marg Magzine Vol. 53. No. 3 p.59. No the sculpture is stolen from the place some years back.
6. Hari Chauhan, Sculptures of Pabbar Valley, Journal of Oriental Institute, M.S. University, Baroda p.17

Fig.1. Gaṇeśa , Parhat, Hatkoti, 7th cent. AD

Fig.2. Gaṇeśa, Bharmour 8th cent.AD.

Fig. 3. Gaṇeśa, Hatkoti, 9th cent.AD.

Fig. 4. Gaṇeśa , Bachoonch, 10th cent.AD

Fig. 5. Gaṇeśa with Śakti, 14-15th cent.AD.

Some observations on the Chandrashekhar temple, Saho, Chamba

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The village Saho (Paddhar) is not difficult to reach. It is located 12 kilometres northeast of Chamba and is almost at level with it. The road to the Saho winds through the luxuriant rice and maize fields, overlooking the Sal river, hurrying down below, with its clear blue waters shimmering in the afternoon sun. The road is lonely, for the regular buses that ply leave no pedestrian. Thus, the roadside teashops are often seen devoid of customers. The last lap of the journey takes you to the base of a mountain; from where the road rises gently, maintaining its steady gradient until it reaches the village. The village lies on the shoulder of a mountain in the midst of paddy fields, which roll down in a gentle slope, terminating at the far end with a sudden descent towards the Sal river, now lost between the mountains and the trees.

In the heart of village stands the main temple of Saho dedicated to Shiv and popularly known as the *Chandarsekh* (Chandrashekhar) temple, attributed to the 10th century AD by eminent scholars.[1] The temple, it is said, was damaged by the floods in the year 1900, but a roof and veranda was later added by Raja Sham Singh (AD 1873-1904) of Chamba. That fact is also corroborated by the design of the intermediary stone columns of the *pradakshina path* and the decoration of the fringes of the roof, which are peculiar to the building.

The avalanche from the mountain caused the floods that might have overwhelmed it, which accounts for the only extant *jangha* portion, made of the perpendicular walls, rebuilt and topped by a modern high-pitched roof. The entire structure, resting on an elevated ground, is fronted by a disproportionately sunken compound, which is another indication of its disturbed architectural *parisara*. That the temple was damaged is obvious from the stone wall raised to the north to push back the debris, rushing down from the big *nullah*, which has long since dried up.

The Nandi bull, facing the sanctum and standing on all fours in the compound, is one of the few original pieces of art left in the temple. It is a splendid piece of art, which the scholars hitherto have referred to in passim (passing?) only. Thus, it will be appropriate to dwell on it at some length. Its magnificent and robust body, rippling with strength is modelled sensitively. Its style also corresponds to the figures of divinities, which were once enshrined in the niches (*devakoshtth*) of the *viman* and *ardhmandap* walls. Over the *adhisthan,* on which it is placed, an arched cellar has been constructed, obviously later, to prevent the effects of rain, snow and bird droppings. There are three prominent images of the standing Nandi in Chamba, though a small standing images of Nandi has also been

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discerned at Jansal quarter and at Banlingeshwar, etc.[2] The Saho Nandi stands at a distance from the Shiva temple. Generally, he does not regulate the circumambulation of the devotees, for which couchant bulls are provided nearby on the pedestals. According to Dr. Herman Goetz, the standing Nandi points to distant iconography of Kidar Kushan (2nd century AD), showing multi-headed Shiv standing in front of Nandi.[3] However, in the *Vishnu Dharmottar Puran*, there is a hint in favour of standing Nandi, wherein he is termed as a symbol of Dharm, who is four-footed and steady as a rock (*vrisohi bhagwan dharmacatuspadah prakirttith*). Shiva's give importance to Nandi and speak of his ornaments and garlands as being the same as those of the main divinity (here we take note of the standing Nandi of Brahmaur, who wears the same *dinaramala* as Lakshana Devi of Brahmaur and Shakti Devi of Chitrari 7th century AD).

The massive Nandi of Saho (ht. 193 centimetres) is carved out of single block of stone. The saddle carved on the back of Nandi gives the impression of a textile instead of a saddle, and it is a marvel of outstanding workmanship, showing classical motifs, such as frieze of *kirtimukhs*, welling out festoons of pearl-strings, a series of *hamsas* facing each other (*sanmukhikrita*) and pecking at a common lotus flower. The saddle is embossed on the back of Nandi with a lotus rosette. It is held at place with a belt (*kati-bandh*), which issues from the mouth of *kritimukh*. The image of Nandi is not lifeless and still, but the artist have infused life into it by lifting one of its hooves, suggesting movement. The garland of Nandi is rope-like, knotted in the classical pattern, forming a figure of '8', with the customary bell hanging in the middle, is so dextrously carved that it gives the effect of metal. The muzzle tied with the rope is meant to hold him in position and to prevent him from straying away in search of green pasture. Yet Nandi holds his head proudly, his eyes are intent on gazing at the splendour of the Lord (*devavi kshana tatpara*). The Nandi wears a necklace of tinkling beads (*ghurghur mala*) alternating with *ghantika mala*, commonly seen among the animals associated with the agriculture. From the tail of Nandi hangs a *gana*, swinging back and forth, with both of his hands and the legs folded in the posture of 'Janu *vinyasta*'. (OM)

Now we come to the temple. The temple is approached from the front by a flight of stone steps from the compound. It comprises the sanctum surmounted by a high-pitched roof, which is projected beyond the walls to cover the *pradakshina path*. The roof rests on the four square columns at the corners, and these are further strengthened by the two intermediary columns at the fringes on each side. The sanctum is a large room, measuring 5.44 metres across. The walls of the sanctum are plain and simple. It contains a monolithic *linga*, set on a disproportionately large *yonipindika*. The *pindika*, encased in the modern copper sheet, is abnormally high, so that the hands of the *pujari* do not reach the *lingam* for

the daily rites of laving (*abhishek*). For that purpose, a wooden plank is used. Its one end rests on the pedestal and the other end is inserted in the side wall. On it the *pujari* sits, whenever the devotees visit the temple for making offerings. The reason for the disproportionately large pedestal is not difficult to trace. While re-installing the *linga* after rebuilding and refurbishing temple, the *linga's* four-sided lower most section - *chatursar* - was placed on the ground instead of planting it in the ground, which would have sufficiently reduced its height. Instead, the *pindika* (pedestal) was built around the lower and the middle section of the *linga* (*asthasaram*), while the top portion '*bhog vrittam*' or *Rudra bhag* was left open as usual for view. That the *lingam* was divided into three sections, which is evident from the stone slab containing eight cornered perforated hole and standing upright in the compound into which the lingam was once inserted and which formed the capping stone of the *pindika*. It is locally called *mekhla* rightly so because once it clasped the *Shivalinga*, but now it is considered an auspicious act by the devotees to pass through it. Here it may be appropriate to point out that the insertion of the *braham-bhag* into the ground is not a hard and fast rule, though the ancient text provides for such procedure.[4] The *sandhra* circuit inside the cella is very narrow so that the *pujari* or the devotee is unable to take *pardakshina* around the *linga* with ease.

The outer walls of the sanctum are pierced with *rathikas* on the shallow *bhadras*. The *avarn-devtas* enshrined in them are not consistent with the presiding deity. These niches are sunk in the pier unlike the *nagara* temples of Chamba town, where the pillared niches with their canopy like balcony are projected from the buttresses of the walls. The walls are made of granite stone of varying length, unsuitable for creating the uniform order of rhythms (*chhand*) of *nagara* temples. A *vari-marg*, water channel is hidden under the floor for the outlet of the water from *garbhgriha* and appears outside the wall showing *makara* frontage.

The *jangha* of the temple are almost plain and devoid of any ornamentation and decoration except for the doorway. The door lintel rests on two pillars with round shafts and capitals of the *ghata-pallava* variety. The brackets on the capitals are formed by crouching *ganas*, represented as soaring and flying. The shapes of these *gana* find their culmination in the *kichaka* brackets, seen in many wooden temples of Chamba. The temple is without a vestibule or *antarala*, which is otherwise an integral feature of the *nagara* temple of Chamba. The doorjamb on each side shows the standing figure of Shiva measuring about sixty-eight centimetres in height. The one to the right shows him in his angry (*kruddha*) form and the one to the left, in his calm (*shant, prasanna*) mood.

Here, it will be appropriate to add that Shaiva mythology is based on two principal heads: *samhara* (destructive) and *anugraha* (gratuitous), which are analogous to the

There is a reason to believe that the village of Sarahan was equally of the archaeological importance as it yielded another memorial fountain slab, assigned to 10th century AD by other eminent scholars. The stone slab was deposited in the Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba (Acc.no. 59.32). The stone slab probably shows in the uppermost panel Rana Satyaki, worshiping a Shivlinga. This fountain slab failed to get due attention as the study of the memorial stones was still in its infancy at the time of its discovery. This fountain slab is provided with a square opening below (damaged) for fixing the water channel (*somsuta*) for water to flow out. The uppermost panels in these slabs are reserved for the depiction of the faith, to which the deceased belonged. However, the upper portion of the slab is in much damaged condition, yet it is not difficult to make out the royal personage, which presumably is Rana Satyaki. Rana Satyaki, as is the case with the portraiture of this period, presents three forth of his face [5](much damaged) and his legs are loosely inter locked in the posture of *ardhaparyanaka asana*. In the lower central panel, a fight between the lion and the elephant is shown. This fight is termed in the ancient classical literature as the fight well matched and between the two equals (*tulya bala*). Below this fighting scene are depicted a row of *hamsas* (*pangti panva*), carrying in their beaks a string of pearls, (*mukta lobhi raj hamsas*) flying in the order of *pardakshina* to mount Kailash.

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bhayankara and *saumya* aspects or the malignant and benign concept, underlying the Rudra of the Vedic period. The *kruddha* aspect of the Shiva, represented here is that of *Aghora Bhairava*. He is flanked by the face of Uma Vamdeva on the left and that of Tatpurusha Mahadeva on the right. Shiva stands on a corpus and with his two hands swings the elephant headed demon above his head to form a *torana* as a sign of victory. A bird is seen perching playfully on the parched skin of the demon. Shiva wears a garland of human skulls (*munda mala*) and a *sarpa yajnopavita*, and in his other two hands, he holds a rosary and a short object.

The body of this terrific image is inflated with divine fury as are the bulging eyes (*krishanu-nayna*) flaring nostrils, sharp fangs (*tikshana damstara*), upraised hair and furrowed eye brows (*bhrkuti*). The other figure represents Shiva in his '*shanta'* aspect and is human (*purushakar*). He is benign and pleasing to look at (*sudarshan*) and is that of Tatpursha Mahadeva. While, one leg of the deity is on the *bhramsthana,* the other is extended sideways in *tryka,* thus imparting a gentle and relaxed stance to the body. The doorsill is provided with a semicircular projection (*nand-vritta*), but it does not have any carving. This is the only temple so provided in Chamba. The threshold is guarded by two heraldic lions seated on their hind legs and looking at the viewer with a snarl.

A stone tablet (*parshasti*) in the format of a manuscript in the Sharda script of the 10 century AD attributes this temple to Rana Satyaki, who was probably contemporary o Sahilverman, the founder of Chamba town. The *parshasti* has been acclaimed as a love poem dressed in stone and it goes on to extol the beauty of his wife limb by limb. Based o this *prashasti*, it is believed that Rana Satyaki had built the temple in the memory of hi beautiful wife Soma Prabha.

Prof. Vogel had acquired this *prashasti* from the temple in the village of Sarahan located at a short distance on the left bank of Sal river opposite Saho temple. He deposite that *prashasti* in the Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba (Catalogue no. A1). He was n impressed by the Sarahan temple, which was hut-like and of stark simplicity. Therefore, h considered that *prashasti* as pertaining to the temple of Saho, for the long tradition held it t be the Chandrashekhara temple. That assumption was further corroborated by the evidenc contained in the benedictory stanza of the *prashasti*, and invocation to lord Shiva: *dev kulan-kolanka-mukt-endulek-ankita-shekharasya,* and again in the end portion, spoken as '*himarasmsekhara.*' This temple is again mentioned as that of Rudra in an inscription i the Sharda script of 10th -11th century AD on the pedestal of a Vaikuntha image (*Ukukar Swamin*) enshrined in the nearby *Devalaya*. However, the small shrine of Sarahan, fro where the *prashasti* was acquired, also goes by the name of Chandrashekhr, as per th tradition held popular in the region.

There is a reason to believe that the village of Sarahan was equally of the archaeological importance as it yielded another memorial fountain slab, assigned to 10th century AD by other eminent scholars. The stone slab was deposited in the Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba (Acc.no. 59.32). The stone slab probably shows in the uppermost panel Rana Satyaki, worshiping a Shivlinga. This fountain slab failed to get due attention as the study of the memorial stones was still in its infancy at the time of its discovery. This fountain slab is provided with a square opening below (damaged) for fixing the water channel (*somsuta*) for water to flow out. The uppermost panels in these slabs are reserved for the depiction of the faith, to which the deceased belonged. However, the upper portion of the slab is in much damaged condition, yet it is not difficult to make out the royal personage, which presumably is Rana Satyaki. Rana Satyaki, as is the case with the portraiture of this period, presents three forth of his face [5](much damaged) and his legs are loosely inter locked in the posture of *ardhaparyanaka asana*. In the lower central panel, a fight between the lion and the elephant is shown. This fight is termed in the ancient classical literature as the fight well matched and between the two equals (*tulya bala*). Below this fighting scene are depicted a row of *hamsas* (*pangti panva*), carrying in their beaks a string of pearls, (*mukta lobhi raj hamsas*) flying in the order of *pardakshina* to mount Kailash.

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Wall paintings of Darbar Guru Ram Rai of Doon Valley

Prof. B.P. Kamboj*†

Around the gurudwara Shri Guru Ram Rai in Dehra Dun a complex of buildings exists, known as Darbar Guru Ram Rai Saheb. It commemorates the memory of Guru Ram Rai (1645-1687A.D.), the founder saint who originally was the eighth in succession of the Sikh *guru's* seat founded by *guru* Nanak. Displeased by Ram Rai's attempt to change a verse of the holy *Granth* while he was in the court of Aurangzeb as a hostage (c.1659 A.D.), his father Guru Har Rai (1628-1661 A.D.), declared the younger son, Har Krishan, only eight years old, as the successor to the holy seat[1]. Ram Rai had a liberal outlook among the *udasis* and earned special favour of the emperor due to his spiritual power. He had a large following of his own in Punjab & Delhi. In 1675 A.D. he retired to the secluded *doon* of the Siwaliks in Garhwal getting seven villages in grants from the Garhwal rulers on orders from Aurangzeb. The *gurudwara* stands where the *guru* established his *dehra* or abode for carrying out his spiritual obligations. The complex now has the central shrine, quadrangular 14ft. high boundary wall, each of its four sides having a gate with porticos and minarets, and four identical cenotaphs of his wives on each corner in the garden within. The peripheral verandah of the central shrine and two of the cenotaphs are fully embellished with floral and geometrical designs. Outside the wall one can see beautifully embellished walls of the Mahant's residence, its grounds floor verandah and the huge *Jhanda* gate with large number of paintings and ornamental designs.

The entire complex has a historical background of 300 years. The paintings here are a part of the tradition of wall painting which has been widely in vogue all through the Siwaliks and its *doons* in the western Himalayas. Often the *Darbar* wall paintings are confused as one school stylistically, including the wall paintings in Kankhal (Hardwar)[2]. The *Darbar* group of wall painting actually shows at least three distinct styles. Chronologically also we can broadly divide them into three main groups.

The first group consists of the richly embellished walls and ceilings of the peripheral verandah of the central shrine and the paintings of the Sikh *gurus* on the wall and arch-way of the inner portico of Bhai Bahlo *darwaza* (gate). This group is the oldest and shows clearly Mughal style. The *grurdwara* of central shrine was completed in 1703-1706[3]. The records of the *darbar* claim it as constructed in 1699 A.D.[4]. A stone tablet bearing the Persian inscription of the *Kasida* (a tribute to Guru Ram Rai on his death) written on Aurangzeb's

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behalf by a Persian poet mentions: "The learned Monarch honoured the place of the Guru's death like heavens, and erected a monument of his beloved memory" (verse 60), and further, at this place "stands a magnificent building with garden...." (verse 62)[5]. The garden which is still there within the quadrangular high wall along with its four openings with porticos on their interior as well as exterior, are part of one architectural concept and must have been created simultaneously. One can see the traces of painted embellishment on the exterior and interior of this complex (except the exterior of the main shrine which has been renovated with white marble by the present *Mahant* a few years ago). It can be safely assumed that the painting work in 'the imitation of mosaic' was done along with its completion[6]. The period of these paintings could be within the span of 1699 to 1710 A.D. The four cenotaphs of the wives of Guru Ram Rai, situated within the quadrangular high walls of the *gurudwara*, belong to the third group. Their dates of completion are inscribed on each and accordingly their embellishment with painting designs was done from 1741 A.D. to 1817 A.D.

In the whole complex of *Darbar* Guru Ram Rai I have not come across any edifice with wall painting which bears date of its construction except the four cenotaphs of the wives of the *guru*, each standing on the corner of the main shrine close to its platform. The dates of their completion, inscribed on the painted surface just above the *samadhis'* doors in Gurumukhi and Hindi are :

Mata Lalkaur's Samadhi (d. 1701 A.D.) .....1741 A.D.
Mata Punjab Kaur's *Samadhi* (d. 1742 A.D.) .....1811 A.D.
Mata Raj Kaur's *Samadhi* (d. 1698 A.D.) .....1815A.D.
Mata Maluki's *Samadhi* (d. 1701 A.D.) .....1817A.D.

Punjab Kaur is believed, as per hearsay, to have supervised the construction of the *Gurudwara* herself, and also got the *Samadhis* of the other three con-wives built *Kachcha* or incomplete[7]. The *Samadhis* of Mata Maluki and Mata Raj Kaur[8] have very simple decoration. Both were completed by the second Mahant Har Sewak[9]. He died soon after in 1818 A.D.[10]. Punjab Kaur, a spiritualist and well versed in *yogic vidya*, was the most prominent of the four wives and had taken keen interest in the construction and embellishment of the *gurudwara*[11]. It was befitting tribute of her to give a rich ornamental decoration to her *Samadhi*, similar to that of Lal Kaur. Both have a great variety of designs-mostly floral following a geometrical order. *Dehin*, a feature of the wall painting of Sikh edifices[12] is also very conspicuous her showing an interaction with painting or specimens of Sikh tradition. However its, character has a Mughal origin also adopted by the painting of Sikh School.

According to one account, Guru Ram Rai is believed to have gone into a trance in 1687 A.D. (the year of his death) instructing that his body should not be disturbed so long as he is in the state of trance or *samadhi*. Before this he gave the charge of administration of the temple and its endowment to Mata Punjab Kaur and that of the *langer* (mass-feeding) to Bhai Bahlo[13]. Before his trance was over, the *masands* believing him to be dead cremated the body. Bhai Bahlo must have been very senior by age and the most respected among the *masands*. Probably he might not have lived to see the completion the *gurudwara* and its boundary wall. The southern gate, dedicated to his memory, perhaps was used as the main entrance in the beginning. By all logic the construction and the embellishment of the main shrine and the porticos of the four gates in the high quadrangular wall must have preceded the construction of the earliest of the cenotaphs of the three co-wives well before Mata Punjab Kaur's death in 1742 A.D. Secondly, figural art is conspicuous by its absence in the wall painting of the main shrine, except the Bhai Bahlo gate. The *gurudwara*, i.e. the main shrine, was built on Aurangzeb's orders and with his grant[14]. He being a zelot muslim, perhaps therefore, figural are was avoided in the main shrine. The total absence of fauna in the wall decorations of the main shrine could not be a chance or due to the embellishment of a place of worship on the Sikh tradition, carried through the adoption and assimilation of various features of Islamic art and architecture in design concept of the Sikh *gurudwaras*[15] there is ample evidence. The Golden temple Amritsar itself had mythological scenes painted on its walls according to H.H. Cole[16] A.D.W. Wakefield had referred to the presence of erotic frescos that covered the wall of the Golden temple[17]. A fresco depicting equestrian Guru Gobind Singh in a corner of the Hari Mandir shrine is a proof of the use of figural art for embellishment of the walls of Sikh *gurudwara*. Antithesis to use of fauna in the embellishment of the place of worship was never a feature of the Sikh faith as seen in Islamic tradition. It is therefore more logical to believe that in the main shrine of Guru Ram Rai, which was got constructed on specific of Aurangzeb, its concept, design and embellishment should have adhered to the Islamic tenets either on wall paintings of the Sikh *gurus* on the Bhai Bahlo gate should have been done little later, probably after the death of Aurangzeb(1707 A.D.), in all possibility between 1708 and 1710 A.D. by the painters of Mughal School migrating from imperial court. As the artists continued to look for better avenues in the courts of the Himalayan States and Rajasthan they should have left the *Darbar*. This may be the reason that we do not find a single specimen of wall painting of this grade anywhere in the whole Doon Valley.

The four porticos on the interior of four gates in the wall in each direction have decorated ceilings, cornices and fronts. But except in the southern portico, all painted designs have been lost under the multiple layers of white wash. The wall paintings of the

Sikh *gurus* exist only on the southern gate, called Bhai Bahlo *darwaza*. Bhai Bahlo was a trusted young disciple of Guru Arjun Dev[18] and later was sent by Guru Har Rai with Guru Ram Rai as a member of his entourage to Delhi court[19]. Its importance is also visible in its three other features, viz., one its inner portico alone has the painting of the Sikh *gurus* which are the finest of all the paintings in the *Darbar*. Two, on its exterior is the larger portico called *baradari*. The area around it to the south and south east of *gurudwara* is called *Baradari* even today. Three, above its door is fixed the stone tablet with *Kasida* in Persian, sent by Aurangzeb on the *guru's* death as a tribute. These paintings are distinctly Mughal in style.

The second group mainly includes the painting done on the walls of the ground floor verandah in the residential block of the Mahant's outside the *gurudwara* precincts. The first floor rooms are a later addition and differ in design. One set of small panels on the wall and the arch-way to the left depict episodes from Guru Nanak's life. They are more in the nature of book-illustration with text written on the painting. The compositions are too simplified and drawings are lacking the skill. The central and the right side walls and the dividing arch-way have mythological subjects done very naively, betraying folk element. Floral designs follow the established tradition. The paintings might have been done at the same time by different local mason-painting and hence show two sub-trends.

The third group is constituted by the set of large number of paintings done on the northern wall of the first floor of *Mahant's* residential block (just above this verandah), and on the huge *Jhanda* gate-both the interior and the outer wall of the latter. They represent the latest group of wall paintings in the *Darbar* of Guru Ram Rai, showing a mixture of styles, quality and subjects. Main body of work is attributed to the artist Tulsi, whose portrait also exists on the outer wall as his signature. However some of his assistants and apprentices also seem to have worked here. One can witness the work ranging from the maturity of western line and sophistication and colours to the simplicity of local folk elements. The subjects too vary from mythology and episodes from Guru Ram Rai's life to the contemporary scenes depicting the *Mahants* and *Darbar's* employees and portraits of some eminent citizens of Dehra Dun. They were executed in second half of the 19th century.

I have met some individuals who have known the master-artist of this group of wall paintings-Tulsi. Chaudhry Sadhu Ram, an ex-employee of the Darbar, whose elder brother's figure exists in the wall painting on *Mahant's* residence, and Mistry Chandu, whose father Chhotey Lal (d. 1939 A.D.) worked with Tulsi, both reportedly have seen Tulsi paint on the walls of the *Darbar*[20]. These wall paintings might have been executed during the period of 25 to 50 years till the beginning of the present century. Tulsi is reported to have learnt the art of *mussavari* (wall painting) from Kallu mistry and Prabhu Dayal[21], who were already living in

Dehra Dun.

Wall paintings of the second and third group, of the latter in particular, are too many and show different stylistic sub-trends and need more time and space for their proper presentation. I will, therefore, restrict my further discussion to the first group of the wall paintings.

Wall Painting of the Sikh Gurus

The inner portico of the Bhai Bahlo gate has eight excellent paintings of the Sikh gurus- all but the last three. Above the door is the Persian inscription of verses in praise of Guru Ram written on Aurangzeb's behalf. On each side of the door are two semi-circular panels of paintings done in fresco technique. Their surface still prserves the shean. To the right, the painting shows Guru Nanak (1469-1539 A.D.) holding a book in his hands, seated on a carpet under the tree. Mardana and Bala, his main disciples are playing on the musical instruments, probably in accompaniment to the rendering of hymes by Guru Nanak. Guru Ram Rai is seated behind Nanak along with two disciples clad in dhoti. They can probably be Sri Chand and Lachhmi Chand, son of Guru Nanak. As time and again Guru Ram Rai has been trying to assert his claim to the holy seat of Sikh *gurus*, this painting confirms his anxiety of remind one of his proximity to the main Sikh lineage founded by Guru Nanak. Depiction of the sons of Nanak, therefore, in preference to the *masands*, seems more probable. Moreover their dress is different and informal. Mardana plays on *rabab* and Bala on *sanrangi*. Green hill in the back ground provides a high horizon with a strip of blue sky. White colour dominates in the painting and is symbolic in highlighting the mood of simplicity of *udasi sufism*. The red colour used in the attire of Guru Ram Rai adds to this quality by contrast and helps is establishing the centrality of the theme and purpose. It is based on a Mughal miniature of c. 1680 A.D., in the collection of Darbar[22].

Second panel, to the left of the door, depicts Guru Angad (1539-1552 A.D.) and Guru Amar Das (1552-1574 A.D.), the second and the third *gurus* respectively seated on *chaukis* on face to face. They are shown in conversation. An attendant is standing at the back of each with *mor-pankhi* fly whiskers. The composition is symmetrical. Both the saints are shown her in white robes and turban while the attendants wear coloured *jamas* and *pajamas*. The white clouds offset the dominance of white of the terrace and their dresses. Again simplicity of the composition and poses goes with the spirit of the theme. Both the paintings have a beautiful arch-shaped border with bold and simple floral motifs. It is adapted (rather copied) from two miniature paintings which were painted by the artists of Mughal school for Guru Ram Rai in C. 1685 A.D.[23].

Despite being exposed to vandalism of the visitors both the panels are still relatively in good condition to bear testimony to the fine quality of Mughal painting on the walls of the Darbar. In all probability they were executed in the years between 1708-1710 A.D. and as such are the oldest wall paintings of Guru Nanak and other gurus. We have not come across any evidence of wall paintings of the *Sikh gurus* earlier than this so far.

The portico's front has three identical arch-ways. Each arch has a pair of portraits of the Sikh gurus. Interestingly, they portray four successors of Nanak, from the fourth to the seventh, viz., Ram Das (1574-1581 A.D.), Arjan Dass (1581-1606 A.D.) Hargobind (1606-1645 A.D.),and Har Dev or Har Rai (1645-1661 A.D.) . Ram Rai (1645-1687 A.D.) is also shown her, presumably as the eighth in succession, being the patron apostle of the *gurudwara*. The sixth portrait is of Gurditta ji, grandfather of Guru Ram Rai. All the portraits are based on the Mughal painting of the *gurus* done during the life time of Guru Ram Rai (c. 1685 A.D.)[24]. Guru Ram Rai spent about 17years in Aurangzeb's court in Delhi and naturally should have grown keen interest in the Mughal painting. Possibly some artists of Mughal school who worked for him might have accompanied him or joined him later, when he left Delhi in 1675 A.D. with the Garhwal Raja Fateh Shah, to settle in the *doon*[25]. This also explains the courtly Mughal attire of all the gurus. But for their names given on each they can easily be mistaken for Mughal emperors by their dress and poses. Trimmed beard was very much in vogue then and all the portraits bear this feature. They are all shown in long *jama*, *churi-dar-pajama* and turban, and hold either a flower, a fruit or a hawk in one hand. Sword is also seen in two portraits. Guru Hargobind discarded the sacred thread and donned two swords instead, symbolising *'miri'* and *'piri'* i.e. the temporal and the spiritual authority, to serve the people.

The models of all the paintings were unmistakably, the Mughal miniatures of the late 17th century. But the craftsmanship of the artists who executed this set of wall painting proves that they were well versed in Mughal style and mural technique. Some of the subjects of miniature paintings have been noticed on the walls of *Jhanda* gate also which were painted much later. But they have nothing of the Mughal style and its sophistication. Whatever semblance to Mughal style is noticed in some of these wall paintings is because they have been copied from some miniature paintings but without expertise of the painters of Mughal style. In delineation the figures of Bhai Bahlo *darwaza* are slightly shortened as compared to the original miniature on which they are based. Facial features have been rendered meticulously, using the minimum of chiaroscuro, only to suggest roundness of the almond shaped large eyes and chin, especially noticeable in the beardless faces of Gurdittaji and Bala. Overall treatment is flat with lines steadily drawn in varying degree of thickness and

intensity. The dress in all the paintings, invariably, is long *jama* reaching well below th knees, with *patka* knotted round the waist with two ends hanging on the front, *churida pajama* with stripped design, turban in different designs and styles and shoes- all in th Mughal fashion. Transparency of the *jama* showing the details of the *pajama* are remarkab shown in the portraits of Guru Hargobind and his step brother Gurdittaji, both bearin swords unlike in the other portraits. Portraits are nimbused to show their divinity, but not s in the portraits of the first three *gurus* in the two panels. In all the six portraits in profile *guru* are shown holding a hawk or flower or fruit in their hand in the fashion of the portraits o Mughal rulers. Guru Har Sewaks's portrait is marked by simplicity despite similar attire an pose.[28]

Relatively the portraits of the *gurus* in the two panels lack the regalia of six portraits o the arch-ways even though they are also shown in the Mughal *jamas* and *pagri*. One ca notice the informality of donning the shawl on Guru Nanak's shoulders. *Patka* with its tw flowing ends has been effectively used for the sake of formal design on an otherwise fl white surface, interspersed with the details of folds in simple flowing lines. White beard an hair show him as an old sage. The book in his hands is symbolic of the *Granth Sah* originally composed of his versed or *sabad* written by him. It is only in the figures of Gu Amar Das and Mardana that the artist has shown them in flowing beard. Tilted torso has le movement to the figure of Mardana in contrast to the rigid pose of Bala. Exceptionally, tw figures shown behind Guru Ram Rai seated on the bare floor are shown wearing only dhot identical Brahamanical fashion, its one end covering the left shoulder. Turban is somewh similar and each has rosary round his neck. The subject is significant in showing the wi acceptability of Nanak's *udasi* preaching's in all sects of Hindus including the *Sikhs*.

Entire roof is richly decorated with geometrical and floral patterns. On the ri wall of Bhai Bahlo gate artist has tried to create the illusion of architectural motifs painting pillars on the flat wall on each side of the door as well as below the two paint panels. The walls of the arch-ways has been decorated with rectangular panels on white w designed borders. The archways having portraits of the *gurus* has 6 inches wide border floral design. Rich embellishment of the entire portico serving as a gallery of wall painting the *Sikh gurus* in *Darbar* Guru Ram Rai is a befitting tribute to the founder and l successors. This group certainly has a distinct and most significant place the whole body wall paintings in the *Darbar*, which are perhaps the oldest surviving wall paintings of *Sikh gurus* in the Western Himalayas or elsewhere.

It is pity that total indifference to their protection and conservation has cau irreparable damage to this heritage and the painted record of the Doon valley. We need

urgent action plan taken up seriously, both through the official as well as non-official agencies, to bring pressure on its custodians, and immediate steps, first, to protect them from further vandalism and vagaries of nature and, secondly, to ensure their proper conservation and restoration.

Reference:

1 J.D. Cunningham, History of the Sikhs, Delhi. pp. 55-56.

2 S.P. Dabral, Uttrakhand-ka-Itihaas, Vol. V. (1975), p.118. Even the paintings on the *Jhanda* gate complex which are contemporaneous with wall painting some other centres in the Doon Valley and Kankhal, shown different trends and styles on closer study.

3 M.S. Randhawa, Paintings of the Sikh Gurus, Roop Lekha, Vol XXXIX No. 1, p.17. Krishan Chaitanya, History of Indian Art, Modern Period, 1994, p.7

4 Present *Mahant's* Writ petition in Allahabed High Court vide A.I.T. Ref. No. 337 of 1964, Annexure No. 7 (para5). H.G. Watton also mentions the year of completion as 1699 A.D. in Dehra Dun Gazetteer, Vol. I of the Distt. Gazetteers of united Provinces of Agra and Oudh (1911), p.214.

5 Ibid, Annexure No. 28 (Eng. Tr.)

6 H.G. Watton, Dehra Dun Gazetteer (1911),p.214.

7 N.K. Sharms, Typed Mss, (bassed on account narrated by Late *Pujari* Kishan Das),p.62. The author also interviewed the *pujari* in 1978 and 1979, and he confirmed narrating the account to the typist.

8 Mata Raj Kaur had estranged relations with her husband and left him to dwell in Mani Majra where she died. A *gurudwara* stands there in her memory. The Samadhi in Dehra Dun *Gurudwara* was in due regard and recognition of her legal status.

9 Ibid.

10 S.P. Dabral, Uttrakhand-ka-Itihas, Vol.V, p.211. G.R.C. Williams, Historical and Statistical Memories of Dehra Dun, 1874, p.92.

11 S.P. Dabral, Uttrakhand-ka-Itihas, Vol. IV, p.322

12 K.S. Kang, Punjab: Art and Culture, 1988, p. 48.

13 N.K. Sharma, Typed Mss, p.61.

14 Mahant's Petition in Allahabad High Court of 1964, Annexure No. 28, (Verse 60), Tr.

15 The possibility of such influence was pointed out by Dr. B.N. Goswami during the discussion on the paper in the Seminar.

16 K.S. Kang, Punjab: Art & Culture, 1988,p.60

17 Ibid

18 Madanjit Kaur, Shri Har Mandir Sahib : Evolution of the Shrine, Marg, vol. XXX, No. 3, June 1977,p.19 (Q-Macauliffe, Sikh Religion, 1963).

19 N.K. Sharma, typed Mss., p.11.

20 Based on interview with Ch. Sadhu Ram and Mistry Chandu in 1978 and 1979.

21 Vide information give by Chandu Mistry. Since his father is reported to have worked with Tulsi information can be reliable.

Prabha Dayal is reported to belong to the family of painters who accompanied Guru Ram Rai to Dehradun.

22 M.S. Randhawa, Paintings of the Sikh Gurus, Roop Lakha, Vol. XXXIX, No.1.

23 Ibid. The author has also seen the original paintings which are in the collection of Darbar and observations are based on their study.

24 Ibid.

25 The *Darbar* collection of Mughal miniatures also has paintings of episodes from *Janam- sakhi* along with other subjects like, the life of Kabir, Hindu mythology etc. Possibly, there might have been some other miniature paintings which were used as models for the wall paintings in the *Darbar Saheb*, in the 19th century and in the process might have been destroyed or lost for the lack of interest of their custodians of those who were using them as models.

26 Dr. B.N. Goswami observed during the discussion that the portrait of Guru Har Sewak(or Har Rai) may belong to other school. Though this opens the scope for further scrutiny of the original miniature in my opinion it is doubtful for two reason. Firstly Guru Ram Rai knew his father better than the rest of the gurus and held him in great esteem. As per a hear-say account of his visit to Kiratpur(the seat of Guru Har Rai) for explaining his conduct at the Mughal Court(which cost him the holy seat of *Sikh guru*), his father refused to see him and asked him to go away in the direction of his face. This was literally obeyed by him by moving towards Lahore and only later taking the route to Delhi. So it was natural that he should have got the portrait of his father also prepared along with the other. The attire and the simplicity might have been because of being based on the actual description of the dress as seen by him before he left for Delhi in 1657A.D. However from the study of the miniature portraits in the collection of *Darbar* it has been observed that they have not been painted by the same artist. This could also be one of the reasons of the difference. But they all seem to be contemporary and possibly executed in Delhi or Dehradun during Guru Ram Rai,s life time.

Newly discovered palaeoliths from Uttarakhand Himalaya, India

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The Potwar region of Pakistan, and the states of Jammu and Kashmir and Himachal Pradesh in India are well documented for the richness of their prehistory (see for some useful reference, Karir 1985; Chauhan 2004; Joshi 2008; Gaillard *et al* 2010ba.), however, the contiguous area of Central Himalaya (Uttarakhand) is yet to make its mark. Admitedly, Uttarakhand Himalaya awaits extensive and intensive prehistoric investigations, for its palaeolithic potentials have yet to be prospected. Curiously, the published material on the prehistory of Central Himalaya has not attracted scholars. Thus, while some scholars (e.g., Ghosh, ed. 1989: see Cultures; Mishra 2001; Chauhan 2004; 2010; Gaillard *et al* 2010a; 2010b) have not taken cognizance of the palaeolithic artifacts discovered in Uttarakhand Himalaya sporadically from time to time (*Indian Archaeology a Review 1961-62*: 103 [hereafter *IAR*]; *IAR 1977-78*: 83; Nautiyal *et. al.* 1980; Mathpal 1987; Joshi 1995; 2008; Joshi: in press), others are sceptical about the authenticity of these tools (Pant 1982: 1-2; Joshi 2008). It may be due to the fact that these artifacts have not been published with adequate photographs and in apropriate scientific journals (Joshi: forthcoming).

The present study purports to highlight recent discovery of four palaeolithic tools found at Kalsi (District Dehradun) near the confluence of the Yamuna and its tributary the Tons. Interestingly, the first ever palaeolitic tools from Uttarakhand Himalaya were reported from Kalsi (*IAR 1961-62*: 103), but no precise information is given about the location of the find-spots of those artifacts. Published photographs show that two of these artifacts are unifacial and the remaining two bifacial (*IAR 1961-62*: Pl. CLI-B). All tools appear to be rolled. These are fashioned on cobbles, and fall under the category of "chopper-chopping" tools. Their present whereabouts are not known. Therefore, to reassess the prehistoric prospects of the Kalsi area it was decided that the two youngest authors (Verma and Saksena) of the present study would explore the terraces of both the Yamuna and the Tons.

Preliminary explorations of the area under reference have resulted in the discovery of four artifacts. With the exception of a broken one, the remaining tools are in good condition; their butt ends make balanced handy grips and leave no room for doubt that they served their purpose well. These tools, three of which made on rolled quartzite cobbles, and

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the remaining one struck off a boulder, were picked up from the surface of the youngest terrace of the left bank of the Tons contiguous to the slightly lower terrace of the Yamuna at Bamanwala-Haripur (30° 30' 57" North; 77° 49' 21" East), District Dehradun, Uttarakhand. On the basis of their size, appearance, and typo-technology these palaeoliths may be classified as follows:

Flake tool (Pls. 1-2):

This is the first ever discovery of a flake tool from Kalsi area. It is an unprepared elliptical flake struck off a boulder with a single, prominent positive bulb of persussion on its ventral surface suggestive of direct percussion technique such as employed in the Clactonian flakes. The straight edge produced by chipping off the flake is naturally sharp and does not show any signs of retouch. Though fresh, it bears several dents, significantly confined to the central part of the working edge, a point where such tool types receive maximum impact when employed in cutting or chopping, therefore suggestive of wear and tear of the artifact during use. It is also to be noted here that the ventral surface including the dents on the working edge seem to bear a quote of some sort of patina/dark pigmentation. It follows then that the dents were caused due to use long before patination, and that the ventral surface of the tool remained burried for a considerable time in its find-spot resulting in its dark pigmentation. The entire dorsal surface is natural cortex.

Cobble tools.

Three cobble tools were discovered during explorations, two of which are unifacial choppers and one bifacial chopping tool.

a. Choppers:

The two unifacial choppers were found lying close to the unprepared flake described above. Both the tools show signs of wear. One of these is elongated, made from somewhat ovoid cobble flaked in two steps on its ventral surface as evidenced in two prominent negative bulbs of percussion (pl. 2). The first flake is struck off at the distal end and the second one at the lateral side, thus producing an almost straight edge on the lateral side abruptly curved towards the distal end showing natural cortex. Flaked portion apart the entire cobble shows natural cortex. The other chopper has been fashioned from a flattish circular cobble (pl. 4). It carries two prominent negative bulbs of percussion on its ventral surface. These neatly executed bulbs of percussion are the results of controlled stepped flaking, as the second flake is struck off the surface caused by chipping off the first flake. The edge has been retouched to make a straight working edge with both the ends curved

abruptly due to circular shape of the cobble. With the exception of the flaked surface the entire body of the tool has natural cortex.

b. Chopping tool.

The chopping tool in this collection, though from the same vicinity, was found at a fairly long distance away from the three artifacts described above. It is broken but the extant portion shows that originally it was prepared from a flattish circular cobble flaked on both surfaces. Working edge of the tool has been wrought along one side only leaving the natural cortex in nearly half the portion of the cobble towards its butt end (pl. 5). The tool shows signs of wear and tear.

There is no doubt that these artifacts represent chopper-chopping tool types, which prehistorians style as Soanian, an enigmatic terminology that continues to prevail in the archaeological parlance.[1] Since these tools have been found on the surface of the the youngest terrace of the Tons, we cannot assign them to any particular archaeo-geological period especially in the light of recent debate on this issue (see, Chauhan 2004; 2010; Gaillard *et al* 2010a; 2010b).[2] To the best of our knowledge these are the first ever reported artifacts from Uttarakhand Himalaya with precise location and adequate photographs for the assessment of the specialists. We do not claim to be prehistorians; however, as students of archaeology, by virtue of which we have experienced physical feel of the palaeoliths, we strongly believe that the tools described in this study are artifacts. While concluding we would like to submit the following observation of one of us in the context of prehistoric tools of Western Himalaya:

> Hopefully, sooner than later Indian side of the western Himalayan region will be subjected to rigorous quaternary studies to address issues concerning distribution pattern, typo-technology, "evolutionary_stages", chronology, and stratification of various tool types independent of Potwar evidence so as to enable scholars to validate or reject various formulations with regard to Soanian vis-à-vis Acheulian (Joshi 2008: 15).

The tools illustrated here are presently in the collection of the office of the Superintending Archaeologist, Dehradun Circle, Archaeological Survey of India, Dehradun, Uttarakhand.

Desription of illustrations:

Plates 1-2 Elliptical flake: dorsal surface with natural cortex, straight working edge (pl. 1; file 001), and positive bulb of percussion on the ventral surface (pl. 2; file 002).

Plate 3 Ovoid chopper: dorsal surface with natural cortex, working edge and negative bulbs of percussion on the ventral surface (pl. 3; file 003).

Plate 4 Discoid chopper: dorsal surface with natural cortex, working edge and negative bulbs of percussion on the ventral surface (pl.4; file 004).

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Endnotes and references:

1. The Soanian assemblage is a confusing terminology in the light of the discoveries of Lal (1956, 1982), Joshi (1979), S.S. Gupta, Jitendranath, J.S. Dube and N.K. Nimje (*IAR 1984-85*: 22), Rendell *et al* (1989: in passim; 204-5), and Salim (1992), and needs an adequate appraisal (see, Joshi 2008; Joshi: forthcoming).

2. It may be noted here that the Kalsi area is situated in the *duns*, which has been dated to between 22,000 and 7,000 yr BP (Valdiya 2001: 91), however, the artifacts described here are apparently much older than the Kalsi *duns*, and have been found in the colluvial deposit close to Upper Siwalik flank.

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Plate-I

Plate-II

Plate-III

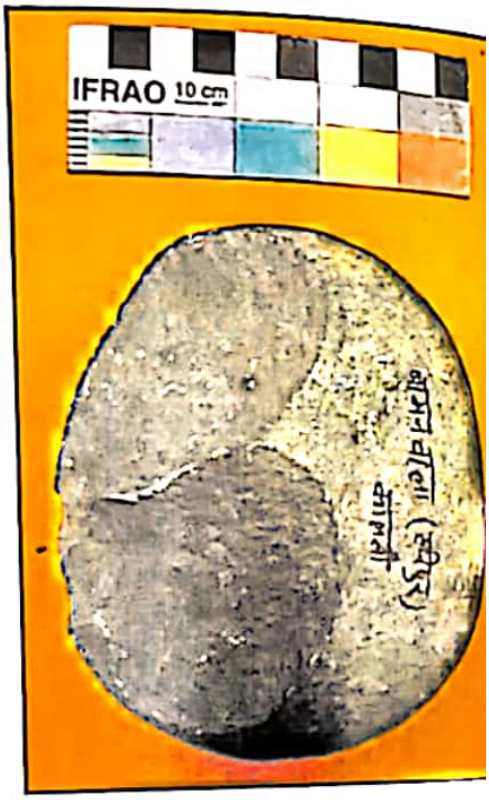

Plate-IV

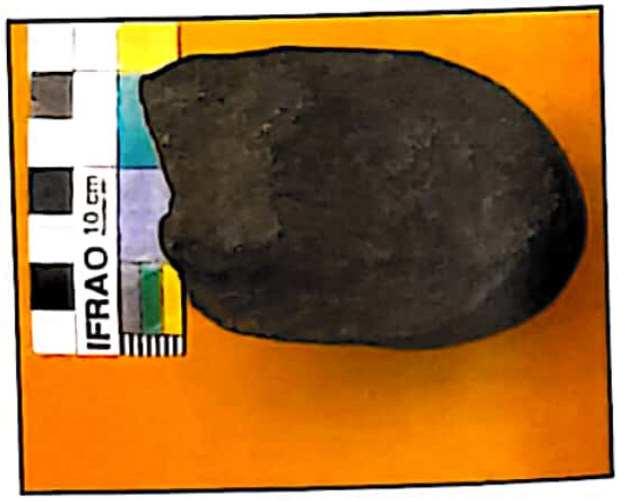

Plate-V

Influence of Kashmir and Tibetan Art on Ladakhi Art (Tenth to Sixteen century)

Dr. Rehana Zargar*

Ladakh with Leh town at its centre is a very important centre of Buddhist art culture. The rock carving, *thankas*, wall paintings, construction of *gompas*, fort, palace, and mosque were the major art and architecture activities of Ladakh.

The art and wall paintings of Ladakh have been influenced by the art of Gandhara, Tibet, Central Asia and Nepal[1]. The Kashmiri style of art has been variously called the Gandhara art and Graeco-Iranian Buddhist art. Others have termed it as the Kushana-Gandhara art[2].

The most glorious phase of Kashmiri art reached its zenith in the reign of Lalitaditya Muktapida (A.D 725-756) when Kashmir established its sway over a vast region in Central Asia, Afghanistan and northern India. We have every reason to believe that almost all the wall paintings found in temples and Viharas of Central Asia were created by Kashmir Artists. The painted book covers of Buddhist manuscripts found at Gilgit are tangible evidence of the Kashmiri school of art, which flourished in Kasghar and Ladakh [2]

There are many Buddhist rock reliefs in Ladakh, representing a direct Indian Buddhist influence. These are found in Mulbek, Dras and the Suru valley in the Kargil district and the Changspa, Shey, Spituk, etc in Leh. These testify to extensive Buddhist penetration into Ladakh in the 7th to 10th centuries. The rock carving of Mulbek Chamba, Dras and Sani depicting Gandhara style. Such monumental sculpture in the Kashmiri style is found only in the Western Ladakh thus it seems likely that Kashmiri Buddhism continued in Ladakh well beyond the establishment of an independent kingdom by a Tibetan dynasty in 10th century[3].

Ladakh which had attracted many scholars and artists to embellish their monasteries, gave preference to Kashmiri artists who had a rich reportoure of art tradition[4]

The G*ompas* of Alchi, Tholing, Chigtan and Basgo contain many works of art by the Kashmiri craftsmen[5]. Construction of these monasteries and temples by a group of Kashmiri artists is an incontrovertible evidence of the Kashmiri art in Ladakh during 10th and 11th centuries[6]. These works of art were purely Kashmiri in character in which Indian elements were distinct. The tradition of decorating temples, palace and monastery walls with Indian typing paintings is very ancient as witnessed in Ajanta, Ellora and Bagh caves. These art evidences correctly assert that the art of painting was associated with religion and civil life in ancient times[7]. Alchi ***Gompa*** is a typical element of an early period monastery, based on the

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Indian mandala system and has a distinct mixture of Tibetan and Kashmir craftsmanship visible in its wall paintings, motifs and decorative features[8]

Good examples of genuine Kashmiri work are the two wooden panels discovered in Tabo monastery in Spiti, representing the Buddha in a rich Kashmiri chapel, surrounded by monks, Siddhas and goddesses respectively. The Buddha still is of the Gupta type. The panels are infact meant to be pure ornamental work like Pala, Western Chalukyas or Hoysala art. The same is true of the wood carvings at Alchi in Ladakh[9]. In Basgo Village the *ser-zang* (gold and copper) temple is called after a set of the Buddhist scripture, the *Kangyur* and the *Tenjur*, in these materials dedicated as an act of merit by Senggee Namgyal(A.D 1616-1642). Entrance to the main chamber downstairs is by a beautifully carved doorway, and here too the main image is of Maitreya. A glass case houses some ancient images, one clearly of Indian (Kashmir) origin and one an example little brass studded with turquoises in the Tibetan manner. Kashmir artists had become familiar with all kinds of art tradition of various art styles. Ladakh which had attracted many scholars and artists to embellish their monasteries, gave preference to Kashmiri artists who had a rich reportoure of art tradition[10]

The Buddhist revival of the tenth and elevanth centuries in western Tibet also spread towards Ladakh. During this period powerful cultural influences made themselves felt from Kashmir and the kingdom of Guge in south western Tibet. Kashmir artisan- carvers of the 9th century A.D brought their art to the Buddhist monasteries of Ladakh and neighboring Guge and many of the monasteries still possess exquisite carvings dating from that period. The kingdom of Guge, a powerful centre of Buddhist learning and culture in the tenth and the elevanth centuries, contributed greatly to the spread of the Buddhist doctrine and culture throughout Ladakh[11]

After Skyi-de Nyimagon around 900, son of the last king of Lhasa there is a mention of his grandson who played an important role in the revival and reformation of Mahayana Buddhism in Tibet and Central Asia. He later returned and become a *lama*, taking the religious name of *lama* Yesho Od (A.D 1025). He made up his mind to reform the church and re-established strict monastic discipline. He was responsible for sending twenty one young men to Kashmir for education and inviting Atisa Dimpamkara Sri- Janana from Nalanda around the eleventh century. Out of twenty one scholars only Rinchen Zangpo and Laqspa Sherap showed tremendous creative capabilities[12]. In his second visit to Kashmir Rinchen Zangpo brought 46 Kashmiri artisan and mason to Ladakh. It is believed that Rinchen Zangpo constructed 108 *Gompas* and *Chorten* from *Zoji-La* to western Tibet Of these only few have survived including Alchi vihar of Ladakh, Tabo vihar of Spiti and Tholing monastery of western Tibet[13].

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A Study of Harshadeva Coins of Kashmir

Dr. Sonia Jasrotia*

Among the monotonous coinage of medieval Kashmir, with its continuous issue of copper coins with the same crud designs from the ninth to the eleventh centaury. The only break in this monotonous series occurs in the reign of Harshadeva (1089-1111.AD.). When gold and silver coins were struck. (Gupta 1969, p.68).During my visit to SPS Museum Srinagar I found 2 hoards of Harsha having more than 800 hundred copper coins and Presumably 150 gold coins.

Copper and Presumably Gold (c.6 -7 gm)
Obv- Left: Ha
Right: Rsha Ra
Rev- Right: (Ja) Deva -

SPS Museum Collection.
Copper and presumably gold coins of Harsha (SPS Museum collection, unpublished)

Harsha came to power by overthrowing his half brother, Utkarsha.[1] Harsha's father Kalasa (1063 89 AD.) appointed him his successor under compulsion. His father rejected him as successor. Kalhana's father Campaka was minister in Harsha's court. *Rajatarangini* was written by Kalhana in1149-50 AD, only 50 years after his reign. Rajatarangini makes it clear that Harsha destructed religious establishments which brought him huge wealth. Kalhana reported that he imposed heavy taxes on his people.[3] He explains that Harsha's Kashmir become overwhelmed by inflation.

Gold and Silver Coins:-

The standard coin-type of Kashmir remained unchanged for over twelve hundred years. The early coins of Kashmir, such as those of Mihirakula, Hariyanakula and Gokarna

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have standing king to the front facing left; holding a spear upright in his left hand and stretching his right hand to fire alter. The other style of Kashmir Coins is the goddess is seated on the lion skin, keens spread wide which has shown in Pravarsena and second shown for "Toramana" and Kidara written on left in Brahmi . Coins started in CE 530 with Toramana. The only break in this monotonous series occurs in the reign of Harshadeva (1089-1111.AD.). When gold and silver coins were struck.

In Harsha's time the gold and silver coins were used.[4] It means that Harsha's used the stolen wealth in making high value coins to supplement the long standing issue of low value copper coins. He converted the gold and silver into coin, probably to pay his army.

Alexander Cunningham's also published two gold and one silver coin in the name of Harshadeva, two of which had designs copying Karnatak designs this (Cunningham 1894)[5] is the earliest confirmation of Harsha's coins in gold and silver.

In 2011 a hoard of silver coins with the name Harshadeva were said to have been found at Gujranwala. Two coins were reported through one collector and eight more through another. It is not clear whether the hoard contained any other coins. The weight of the coins was between 2.5g and 2.7g. The designs were the same as Cunningham's unique gold horseman type as explained above. In the Obverse A:Man riding horse towards right, wearing triangular hat (or detail not visible), right arm raised holding spear (only traces of spear visible), horse ornamented with necklace of dots and strap across rump.

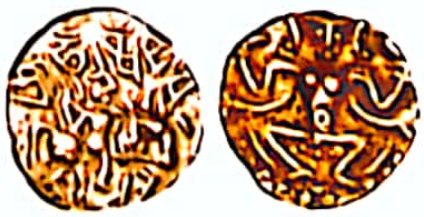
Inscription: *Śri Harṣadeva*

Obverse B:

Woman (as man on obverse A but with breasts) riding horse to right, wearing rounded hat, right arm raised holding spear, horse ornamented with necklace of dots and strap across rump. Inscription: Śri Harṣa[*deva*]; traces of letters behind rider.

Silver Coins of Gujranwala Hoard.

Obv Rev



Reverse:-

Goddess seated with bent legs on a lotus (with dotted petals when visible), wearing a triangular crown (with three upright motifs at front and curved motifs to the sides), and a skirt

(represented by a line at waist and dots below), with a ribbon tied below her breasts with ends stretched out on both sides below her raised arms, holding sun as dotted device in her raised right hand and moon and star as crescent and rayed dot in her raised left hand.

1. obv./rev.(fig. 1)

2. obv. / rev (fig. 2) (same dies as Cunningham's gold coin, now in BM)

3.obv. /rev. (fig. 3)

4.obv./rev. (fig. 4)

5.obv./rev. (fig. 5)

6.obv /rev (fig. 6)

7obv./rev (fig. 7)

8 obv./rev.(fig. 8)

9 .obv. A5/rev. a5 (fig. 9)

10. obv. /rev (fig. 10)

Harshadeva's gold horseman coin:

British Museum (Cunningham collection, registration no. 1894,0507.396, weight 4.73g, diameter 15mm)

Fig. 11

Fig. 12

Fig. 13

Gold horseman type.BM Collection.

The obverse designs appear to have been based on the silver 'bull and horseman' coins of the Shahi kings ruling in the Kabul and Gandhara region from the eighth to tenth century. (see fig. 12).

Debased imitations of these coins continued to be produced in Afghanistan, Pakistan and north-western India down to the thirteenth century. The position of the horseman on Harshadeva's coins seems to be an adaptation of the Shahi design, but the inscription arranged above reflects the positioning of the inscription on the bull side of the Shahi issues.

Kalhana recorded Harshadeva's relationship with the Shahi kings: "Vasantalekha, the king's wife, who belonged to the Shahi family"[6] The reverse design appears representing a two-armed goddess seated on a lotus draws inspiration from the gold coins depicting a four-armed goddess on a lotus appearing on the gold coins of central northern India current in the time of Harshadeva. The four-armed goddess design was introduced by Gangeyadeva. (See. fig. 13), Kalachuri ruler of Tripuri (AD 101540) and continued in use until the thirteenth century according to Deyell 1990, pp. 86110).[7] It looks like that it has derived from the rare tenth century gold issues of the Palas and Rashtrakutas. The surprising feminisation of the rider on the single coin struck is difficult to interpret.The availability of Shahi and Kalachuri prototypes for the Harshadeva coinage in the eleventh century supports the attribution of these coins to Harshadeva king of Kashmir (1089-1101), rather than a ruler in the seventh century as suggested by Hoernle (1903).[8]The link with Kashmir is also borne out by the style of representation of the two-armed goddess, drawn in a disjointed style with heavy dotted features. The script style on the gold and silver horseman coins is also the same as that on Harshadeva's regular Kashmir copper coins.

Our understanding of Harshadeva's gold horseman coin is therefore reassessed on the basis of the discovery of ten silver coins of the same type. The size and weights reported suggest that the coins are the same size as the gold issue, but lighter due to the difference in specific gravity of the two metals. The discovery of a hoard of silver coins outside Kashmir

suggests that the coins have been circulated. The weights of the coins so far reported do not show how they fit into any pre-existing currency system, as they match neither the Shahi nor the Kalachuri monetary standards. The weight of the silver coin (c. 2.6gr) could be based on the local weight standard.

The other coins of Harsha BM and SPS Museum collection.

As Cunningham suggested two coins in his collection and now in the British Museum verify the statement in the *Rajatarangini* that Harsha had coins made on the model of the coins of Karnataka.

His gold and silver coins both had the same design, an elephant facing right on the obverse and a two line inscription on the reverse naming the king: *Śri Harṣa/deva*, written in the same style as on the horseman coins and on his copper coins. The elephant design is closely modelled on the elephant appearing on the gold coins attributed to the Ganga rulers of Karnataka (fig. 16) in the period coinciding with Harshadeva. The attribution of the Karnataka coins is very problematic, as the inscriptions on them are not sufficiently informative to confirm their attribution to the Gangas, so scholars have to rely on Kalhana's testimony in the Rajatarangini: VII:927 *As he was fond in his amusements of the Daksinatya (Dekkan) fashion he introduced a coin type (tanka) copied from that of Karnata.*

Harsha Gold coin with elephant type:

British Museum, ex Cunningham collection, registration no. 1894,0507.398, weight 4.67g diameter 14mm (fig. 14).

Obverse: elephant standing facing right, with trunk hanging down, ornamented with double dotted harness over shoulder and anklet of dots.

Reverse: two line inscription *Śri Ha*[*r*ṣa]*/deva* (only the lower part of the syllable *rsha* is visible)

Harsha Silver coin with elephant type:

British Museum, ex Cunningham collection, registration no. 1894,0507.396, weight 1.52g diameter 12mm (fig. 15).

Obverse as gold coin, but not dotted ornaments on elephant, and floral motifs between elephant's legs and above back.

Reverse as gold coin, but syllable *rsha* completely off edge of coin, and three-dot symbol to left of inscription.

Harsha's copper coins:

Harsha's copper coins are worth describing here for completeness sake, but with the knowledge that further specimens will undoubtedly appear in the future to add to the varieties recorded here.

Variety 1

Obverse: Stylised representation of seated female figure with bent legs, wearing garment (represented by linear collar with arc of seven dots across chest and lines across waist with three dots below), headdress (represented by three vertical lines above horizontal line) and large circular earrings. Lotus blossom to right of head.

Inscription in single line across centre of design, broken by image in centre: *Ha/rṣa* raja

Reverse: Stylised representation of standing male facing, holding trident(?) in his left hand, wearing skirted garment with puffed sleeves (represented by heavy lines and crossed lines at waist), headdress (represented by three vertical lines above horizontal line) and earrings (four dots to either side of head)

Inscription in single line in right field under king's left arm: *deva*

Examples: British Museum, ex Cunningham collection, 1894,0507.399, 6.03gr, diameter 18mm (fig. 17); British Museum, ex Bhagvanlal collection, 1889,0105.1029, 6.01gr, diameter 18mm and SPS Museum collection. (See fig. 18-19 & 20).

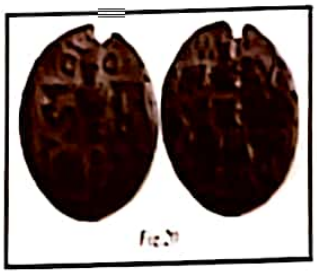
Fig-18

Copper BM Collection

Fig-20

Copper SPS Museum Collection

Fig-21



Copper BM Collection Variety -2

Variety 2

It is same as variety 1, but inscription arranged differently:

Reverse inscription in two lines *de/va*

Examples: British Museum, ex Cunningham collection, 1894,0507.971, 6.69gr, diameter 17mm (See fig. 21); British Museum ex India Office Collection 639, 6.00gr, diameter 19.5mm.

Variety 3

As variety 1, but inscription arranged differently

Obverse inscription: *Ha/rṣara*

Reverse inscription: *jade*[*va*]

Example: British Museum, ex Cunningham collection, 1894,0507.974, 6.09gr, diameter 19mm (fig. 21).

Assessing collection of SPS Museum Srinagar and new discovery of silver coins at Gujrawala it is difficult to assess the accuracy of the *Rajatarangini*'s account of the rareness of copper coinage in his reign but the use of gold and silver coinage in Harshadeva's reign and these silver coins found at Gujrawala now confirm the statement of Rajatarangini that the use of gold and silver coinage in Harshadeva's reign " *At that time the use of gold and silver money* [dinnara] *was plentiful in this land, but that of copper money rare*".

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Memorial Stones Cognate with Hatli Chieftains in Baldwara , District Mandi (H.P.)

Madan Singh Chauhan*

The casting of memorial stone has always bee a subject associated to the spirit and the soul of deceased person. A living human being feels their innate sentiments and spiritual duty so that to appease the soul of a dead in *parloka* (other world). The reason of commemorating them in reverencing way very form region to region and society to society, but the overall intention behind this is to make appeasement. The most primitive of the dead bodies of their departed in various ways they believed to be most appropriate[1].

The practice of erection memorial stones to the dead was wide spread in Himanchal, part of north Uttaranchal along the Yamuna and Tons valley. This custom variously referred to as the *Satis, barselas, gur mohras, paapa, pitr, panihar and nahun, etc.* These have been located in different parts of Himachal like Mandi and Nagar in Kullu district, Sisu and Trilokiath in Lahul, Churah, Pangi Chhartari, Bharmour, Salhi, Sai and Nagi in Chamba district[2].

The memorial stones of Sukhar Nagrota in Mandi District has been taken for present study. The village Sukher Nagrota is situated on the right bank of Nagrota Khud a seasonal rivulet in Baldwara sub tehsil of Mandi district of Himachal Pradesh. It is nearly 129 km. north to Simla at the height of 100 mtrs. from sea level.

The site is potential for antiquarian relics in the form of stone sculptures, *bawarries*, temple and fort in ruined state. Very little is known about the history and people of this ancient site, but recently when a barren land were dug by the local peasant for his cultivation he exposed a numbers of stone sculptures the memorial stones, locally known as "*Barsela*", since then the place came in the acquaintance of archaeologist. (Fig.1)

There is a prevailed anecdote about the place that it was once a capital of a chieftain known by the name of Hatli Thakur, and the whole area of present Baldwara region, came under his reign. In the annals of history a clear reference occurred that the Rana of Hatli was conquered by the king of Suket named Bir Sen (765 A.D.)[3] Who was from the Sen lineage belong to the Atri Gotra in Chandravanshi line of Rajputs. He after subdued the northern portion of Suket advanced to the Kikandaradhar and defeated Rana of Hatli and founded a fort in front of Sukher Nagrota village on the Thaaon dhar to commemorate the event. The ruins of fort are still existing. During the period of king Madan Sen (120 A.D.)[4] there was a rebellions from the side of petty barons among which the Rana of Hatli was one, who was successfully subdued by Madan Sen. In the period of Sidh Sen (1688 A.D.), a king of Mandi

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state, some district of Suket where in Hatle included, came under his control[5]. In 1792 AD the king of Kangra Raja Sansar Chand invaded Mandi and plundered the capital. The then king of Suket Raja Bikrama Sen tendered his allegiance and was rewarded with the rich district of Hatli[6]. By 1805 when king Iswari Sen of Mandi got freed from the talon of Sansar Chand with the help of Gurkhas, and seized the Hatli fort again[7].

As far as the archaeological evidences on the site is concerned, the stone *Barselas* and a copper coins of medieval period are exposed so far which may well point to examine the site in archaeological ground.

The memorial stones yet yielded displays two phases of artistic activities. In the first phase includes most remarkable and smaller group seems casted for some specific religious purpose. A thick slabs of sand stone weighted ten to twenty kilograms of weight and height of about 13 cm to 39cm. these are chiselled in round and carved out in three parts towards upward. The lower one part is plain without motifs probably left for fixing it on the earth. Some are not round but recessed vertically to the sides. The middle part contains the human figurines are carved in folkish pattern. All the human figurines are of inferiorly tracered comparatively to the other royal *basselas* found at Mandi and Naggar. These are shown with ordinarily worn garments, sub slandered tracery on background and with less ornamentation. The upper most part has an *amalaka* like appearance showing Sivalinga on top.

In the second phase includes two categories of memorial stones. One category has a large group found of varying sizes from 65x 16x 9cms to 1.62x 40x 15cms. In appearance, a flat stone slab either rounded or pointed at the top is carved with the human figurines may one or two on centre holding their attributes like bow and arrow, sword and mace. These figurines are shown either alone or with the mount the horse. It is remarkable that the single figure carved on the slab is without niche. However, more than one are divided into sections representing each with a arched niche around it and the foliage and medallion on top. All the human figurines whether sitting to standing pose are shown on a small quadruped.

The memorial stones of the second category are very few resembling the characteristic of Mandi type *Barselas*. On the basis of physiognomical feature these are comparatively of high tracery and ornamentation then the earlier one.

A number of memorial stones have been found at the Sukhar-Nagrota village (Baldwara) of which following are important and worth description.

A sitting women worshiping a Sivalinga

The worshiping of Siva in Himachal Pradesh is an old tradition which can be proved by the abundance of coins of Kunidas and Yodheyas in the region[8]. This type of *barselas* are

very common particularly in Mandi and Suket region. Usually in such reliefs a female is shown in sitting position, worn a traditional long folded garment handing form waist, the upper garment is tightly worn. She is ornamented with heavy beaded ear rings, pendants, weighty bracelet on arms and foot. The female sitting inside a niche holds a vessels on her left hand appears pouring something on Sivalinga. The niche is carved to its exterior with the patravalis designs.

A male figurine standing on a quadruped

The memorial stones, known as barsela so far found in different places of Himachal have been erected to the kings and the queens of erstwhile states like Mandi, Chamba, Naggar and Suket. In which the deceased royal persons are shown with royal garments and ornaments and a varying poses of seating or standing side by side. The slab is aesthetically carved with floral and foliage designs in surrounding. But in such relief a man is shown warrior standing on a quadruped holding a bow on left and arrows on right hand. The sword is tied on the waist. The dress, which does not appear the royal garment, worn are the round cap on head folded in periphery and a coat with wide girth ties by a scarf on waist.

Depiction of man, women and horse

The use of horse was prominent among the raja's and Chieftains for the wars as well as entertainment riding purpose. On the memorial stones the horse has been always depicted with his master with or without riding. On this relief the deceased person is shown seated on quadruped but in such position he holds his attributes the bow in left hand and arrow in right hand, which indicates his death on a war.(Fig.2) On the left side has a women in standing and binding her both hands appears the wife of deceased person, became sati with her husband. The slab is carved with geometrical designs on background. Both male and female deceased are shown separately inside the niches.

A memorial stones in Sivalinga type

It is evident from this type of memorial stone that the deceased person had a great devotion to the lord Siva and the lord may be his household deity. In such relief a stone slab is in Siva linga form dressing the upper part of stone in round the conical shape. The middle part contains the symbolic image of deceased person.(Fig.3) If one is deceased the single human figurine is carved with his attributes. The two or more images represent his wife or concubines became sati with him. The lower part of the slab, not properly dressed, is left for fixing it into the earth. Some time an *amalaka* like carving are provided between the top and middle part, which depicts a temple like appearance. Such type of memorial stones are first time reported in Himachal.

A memorial stone depicting a king, queen maidservant and horse

Such type of memorial stones are very much corresponding to the *barselas* of Mandi and Nagar. A rectangular stone slab, round on its background, is carved aesthetically with a king, queen, maid-servant and a horse shown inside the niches. The king and queen are together depicted as venerating sivalinga inside a larger niche manifesting a temple like appearance. On the lower part contains a standing female holding a vessel on left and *chanwara* on right hand indicating her maid servant of the king. On the left side has on another niche enshrining a small quadruped. The lowest part of slab has a horse shown in front of a *Rajdgwaja* (King's flag.). The relief depicts a royal grandeur and devoting nature of deceased king and queen.

CONCLUSION

After a careful analysis we come to the conclusion that the memorial stones at Sukher-Nagrota near Baldwara exemplifies the classical and native art of the Chieftains of Hatli, which probably commenced with the existence of these petty chiefs over there. The shape and designs carved on memorial stones of first phase stated earlier, does not correspond to the royal privilege, but certainly may be warrior men who could afford such a manpower and wealth to erect these stones in commemoration of their deceased ancestral. The carved human figurines and attributes like sword bow and arrow and a horse on the slab does not depict a token of common man, except garments which appears of typical hill man type.

In 765 AD. The chieftain of Hatli came under the control of Suket and later on under the kings of Mandi, up to 1805 AD., but individual identity as chieftain of Hatli remained at last, and the region of Hatli was reigned by the successive Thakurs since sixth cent. AD. These Thakurs, whose name does not occurs in the history, had the regional power like a king but worked under the royal decree. Therefore it is certain that these memorial stones cognates with them. There are no epigraphical record or evidences found on these stones like those at Mandi and Chamba but no occurrence of such type of memorial stones in other place of Himachal represent them earlier to the known *barselas* of different places in Himachal Pradesh.

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Fig.1. Memorial stones unearthed during digging

Fig.2. Memorial stone with horse

Fig.3. Shivlinga type memorial stone

Conservation of Miniature Painting:- A Case study

Siddharth Chandra *

Among all the art objects miniature paintings are considered as the most exquisite and also the most sophisticated form of artistic expression. We are very fortunate to have very rich tradition of *pahari* miniature painting and a very rich collection of this invaluable martial heritage in our museums. The themes, the colour scheme, the detailing in the figures, the flora & fauna in these miniature paintings leave a mesmerizing effect on the spectator. But like all other artistic creations miniature paintings are also at risk to the deterioration with the passage of time. In fact miniature paintings are more susceptible to deterioration due to their nature. To understand this we have to understand the structure of a miniature painting. A miniature painting is multilayered structure (i.e the two to three layered support after that drawing layer the base layer then pigment layer and in the end the detailing layer which consist of gold or silver pigments but in short we can divide these layer into two main layers. First is the support layer and second is pigment layer, both these layers respond differently towards the surrounding conditions such as humidity, temperature, light, pollution etc. Due to their different nature the extent of dimensional changes are different which results in the damage to the structure to the painting. In addition to these the material used in the making of these painting also play their part in deteriorating the painting for example some pigments due to their acidic nature can alter the ton of the adjacent pigments, sometimes the paper used in making the support of the painting can cause serious damage due to its inherited defect or even the binding agent used to bind pigments with the support due to its inferior quality result in the loss of the painting layer.

Conservation laboratory State Museum Shimla received a miniature painting for conservation treatment from the museum collection with accession number S.M.S 74.410. This miniature is one of the best example of lavishness and superiority of the miniature painting. The miniature has Krishana playing on his flute in the centre as a main or protagonist figure, and rest of the painting seems to revolve or concentrated around him. Every other figure in the painting wheither they are *gopies*, *gopals*, cows , birds or even

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celestial beings in the clouds are portrayed mesmerised on the tune of the flute of the Krishna. Lush green vegetation with pouring clouds increases the richness of the painting. (Shown in photo No.1 in the left).

Photo No. 1:-Miniature painting before conservation treatment

Photo No.2:- Showing various signs of deterioration in the painting.

Condition:- *The Miniature is executed on a thick support of handmade paper. This support consists of three sheets of handmade paper joined together with the help of vegetable based adhesive.*

The miniature painting consist of various problems due to its composition & different nature of every single layer, but the main problems which were present in this particular miniature were as follows:-

1. Loss of adhesion in between the different layers of the support, which resulted in the separation of the all the three layers at different places. Due to this small lacuna or air pockets were also formed in between the layers. The main reason behind this could be the loss of adhesive power of the adhesive used due to ageing and another on is due to direct contact of painting with water.
2. Micro biological infestation in the lacunae formed due to separation of the layers of the support. The vegetable based adhesive act as a good source of nutrition for the micro biological agents of deterioration and presence of moisture provided favourable condition of their growth.
3. Migration stains on the painting due to moisture or may be due to direct contact with water. When moisture travels from one spot to another through the fibres of the paper it carries colour particles such as fungal spores or other colour particles which are

present in the paper result in the formation of the migration stains on the surface of the painting.

4. Lost areas due to insect attack. The organic nature of the paper and the adhesive used in the Painting and the support attract the insects toward it.
5. Loss of paint layer in some areas. The different nature and tendency to react in different ways due to fluctuation in variation in temperature and humidity result in the breaking of the bonding between the support and the paint layer.
6. Abrasion marks on the paint layer. Improper handling and wrong practices of storage cause these abrasion marks on the surface of the painting.
7. Deposition of dust, dirt and insect excreta on the painting.
8. Discolouration, this is also caused when the painting comes in direct contact with water and moisture start travelling through its fibres.
9. Improper repair on the back side of the panting. Lack of knowledge and lack of proper conservation material can cause serious problems in future; the strips of acidic paper were used with synthetic emulsion for the repair of the painting.
10. Human vandalism.

Conservation treatment:-

The remedial conservation treatment procedures performed on this miniature is strictly based on the ethics of conservation. All the steps in the procedure are strictly scientific based. The material selected for the conservation procedures such as adhesive, filling material, tissue paper for lining etc are almost inert in nature and their nature and response toward the varying environmental conditions resemble with the material used the miniature painting. The procedures which are performed on the painting are as follows:-

a. First of all miniature painting was fumigated with Para di-chloro benzene for fifteen days. This helped in the eradication of the active and dormant fungal spores present in the infested painting.
b. Documentation of the painting was done before performing the further steps of conservation. The process continued during every step of the conservation procedure till the end.
c. pH value or in simple words acidity of the paper used in the support of the painting was measured at three different points of the painting which was found almost neutral. Hence no need of de acidification of the painting was required.

d. Dust dirt deposition was removed mechanically with gentle brushing. Deposition of insect waste was also removed with simple tools such as scalpel, needle and soft brush.

e. Separated layers of the support which were infested with micro biological growth were removed. Two layers which were weak & fungal infested were removed after that single supporting layer of paper was left.

f. Painting was relaxed by partially moistening. For this the painting was placed on the semi wet blotting paper and covered for some time with polyethene sheet which result in the flattening of the painting.

g. Solvent cleaning was done to remove the migration and other stains from the surface of the painting. But before performing this step the solvent selected for this procedure was tested for any kind of adverse effect on the painting, after thorough testing and becoming sure about the effectiveness of the solution this step was performed.

h. Lining , for this process every pigment on the miniature painting was tested for solubility , the tissue paper for lining (lamination) and adhesive for lining (Carboxy methyl cellulose) were selected due to their inert nature and almost transparent nature. For lamination support two layers of Japanese tissue paper with CMC as adhesive was made after that the relaxed & semi moistened miniature painting was placed on it and pressed gently.

i. Filling of lost areas which were caused due to insect attack were filled with tissue paper pulp in CMC. Then painting was left undisturbed to dry slowly for two to three days.

j. Trimming, is done to remove the uneven edges of the lamination layer.

k. In the end conserved painting was re-mounted on the fresh mount of acid free mount board and returned to the museum for display.

Photo No. 3:- (left) Solvent Cleaning.

Photo No. 4:- Lamination on the Miniature painting on new support of Japanese tissue paper

Painting before conservation

After Conservation

Keeping in mind the importance of the miniature painting which probably belongs to late fourteenth century, the rule of minimum intervention and essential treatment is given to the painting. In addition to that all the conservation procedures performed on the miniature painting are latest scientific methods and are totally reversible in nature which means that in future if some other more advanced conservation method for conserving miniature painting is discovered then this procedure which is done on this miniature will be successfully removed or reversed for that new one.

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